

FRIENDS NOT FOES

(A Political Survey of Pakistan)

Dedicated
to
the martyrs for Pakistan
And
the valiant fighters and sufferers
for Democracy.

Mozibor Rahman. M. A. LL. B.

Ex-Chairman

Agricultural Development Finance Corporation of Pakistan

And

A Former Member of East Pakistan Provincial Assembly

And Writer

of 'Socio-Economic Reconstruction of East Pakistan'

Whither Pakistan and other Booklets on

Economics and Politics.

Publisher :
The author.
14, Hatkhola Road,
Dacca—3.
East Pakistan.

All rights reserved to the author.

Printed By :
K. M. Amanullah B.A.
Natore Press
12, Folder Street.
Dacca—3.

FORWARD

I had been intimately associated with Muslim political leaders of Bengal before and after partition. Some of them were gifted persons having high intellectual qualities. But they never cared to prepare a well conceived plan and programme for social reconstruction. Their decisions were always isolated decisions and not part of a comprehensive whole. The author of the book has been known to me for 30 years. I am happy to find that he has taken pains in presenting a comprehensive Suggestion for building up real solidarity, peace and prosperity of Pakistan according to his conception and comprehension of problems of Pakistan. He has raised problems and suggested their solution for consideration of the politically conscious people and the Government. I do not agree with all his observations, but I appreciate his sincere and honest attempt to give a lead to the politicians of Pakistan in constructive thinking. He is strongly of the opinion that Pakistan must have parliamentary democracy, but he does not ignore risk involved in adopting such a system of Government. He recommends concrete measures, which, he thinks would eliminate evils of demagogue, opportunism and reckless disregards of political commitments. Appreciation of a person does not mean agreement with him in all points. I may not agree with the author's interpretation of political events and assessment of merits and demerits of political leaders, but I agree with him entirely in his observation that none of the ills of Pakistan shall ever cease until the task of moulding the destiny of Pakistan falls in the hands of honest and efficient persons in all the spheres of national reconstruction.

Abul Hashim

PREFACE.

People, politicians and political parties are not foes of the state, but are friends. Their interests are not mutually exclusive and antagonistic but are both complementary and supplementary. It is the people who supply politicians from amongst them and the politicians form government of a state for a specific period on express mandates taken from the people. It is the political parties which are the repositories of these mandates and stand as surety for the political conduct of the politicians to the people. By people I mean not the inert, but active and politically conscious people. By politicians, I mean a set of responsible beings imbued with the spirit of national service and duty of creating and sustaining conditions for the advancement of people's mental and moral faculties and material wellbeing; and not a band of political perversus and panders who look upon politics as an art of grabbing power, making money and self-aggrandisement. By political parties, I mean ideological people's political institutions functioning wholly for national advancements and capable of either forming or leading a government or a responsible opposition as an essential part of the state machinery, and which is conscious and responsible enough not to play as tools in the hands of the pseudo-politicians and the political gullibles for their aggrandisement at the cost of the people and the state. In fact every government, be it democratic or otherwise, is a vast national workshop of co-operation between the party in power and the people. Every government is instituted with the avowed object to secure certain

inalienable rights of the people and when that government derives its political authority from the free will of the people and not from its force, then and then only its laws represent the true interest and effective demands of the people and it can work as a national government in the true sense of the term for the realisation of those inalienable rights and national objectives with the hearty co-operation of the people.

The best government is the one which with its political and legal authority ultimately resting with the people can build its character of permanency for continued prosperity and security of the state on the happy blending of the principles of political obligation and rights. A government must be the true exponent of the genius of the people to inspire public spirit, interest in national affairs, courage, sense of national integration and patriotism, public tolerance, political consciousness and virtues. But it is abundantly clear that the 'Basic Democracy' with its inherent weakness, proved failure and inferiority as a means and organs has failed to cultivate and inspire those human qualities, and in fact, distance between the government and the people and between the two wings are widening too fast.

Man as the best creation with intelligence, moral and articulating powers must think that 'to err is human' and he can not assume infallibility. But he is capable of rectifying his mistakes only by discussion, experiences and respect for others views. Few facts can tell their own stories without comments to bring out their inner contents. The strength and value of human judgement is that it can be set right when it is wrong, but reliance can only be placed in it when the means of setting it right are kept constantly at hand. Both political parties and the government should exist on their own intrinsic values and worth independent of the personality and the accident of a single man, however powerful or

a genius he might be. It is democracy alone which provides this peaceful mechanism for peaceful change of government from one set of people to the other set.

By its historical impelling forces and geographical necessity of Pakistan restoration of democracy in Pakistan is a must and a matter of time. But what are the checks against the irresponsible political conduct and brute majority rules of political parties as experienced before 1958 and now. Was there any other way than the one in which the so-called Constituent Assembly was dissolved in 1954? But, for the misconduct and crimes of few political persons democracy which was never practised in Pakistan can not be punished. Infringement of right and not the right itself should be punished. In fact, if general and direct election had been held on adult franchise in 1959 those spotted politicians would not have a chance of staging a come-back.

Democracy like other political organisations is the work of men. 'Men did not wake on a summer morning and find them sprung up. Neither do they resemble trees, which, once planted, are growing, while men are sleeping'. Representative governments are of little value and may be a mere instrument of tyranny and intrigue if the people are not public spirited, politically conscious and eternally vigilant on the activities of their representatives and if both the political parties, workers and political leaders do not diligently and honestly work out the political bodies, solve the national problems with selfless spirit, patriotism and religious scruples and only remain fanatically attached to the respect for the rule of law. I am as much concerned with the restoration of democracy as with the future preservation of it when restored. In vain I warned in 1956 through my book, 'Socio-Economic Reconstruction of East Pakistan' in which I said, "The political offices such as those

(IV)

of the ministers and M.L.As are never the careers and loaves and fishes for the political self-seekers,... some self-blind and power-drunk politicians have really become a menace to the full blossoming of democracy and scientific administration...at present Pakistan stands at the parting ways of democracy and autocracy, but over her political horizon looms large the dark shadow of ominous possibilities and her fate is going to be decided once and for all". And I further exhorted the political party bosses, "A political party is cheated by its party M.L.As, because it did not scrutinise at the time of giving nomination whether its election programmes were identical with the character and economic interests of the persons nominated". I further suggested, "Constitutional provisions must be made to the effect that a political party before launching an election campaign with its party programme must get its programme registered in the highest court of the province on an affidavit made by the leader of the party, and the M.L.As, who will change his party after election must loose his seat". In the last chapter of the present book I have given certain suggestions for the success of democracy in Pakistan. Though President Ayub had cut the very root of democracy by disenfranchising the people, he has imperceptively laid the foundation of democracy by Clause (3) of the Political Parties Act, 1962 involving the M.N.As and M.P.As to the risk of losing their seats on change of parties after election.

If will, not force, is the basis of the political authority, it is all the more an indispensable condition for the survival of the state of Pakistan, as her two wings are multi-racially composed and geographically constituted. Pakistan itself was the conscious product of the ideological urge of Islam among the Muslims

of Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. Again the Constitution of 1956 was the result of an agreement among national leaders of both the wings on the fundamentals of the State organs, its powers and its relation with the provinces. By force and against the will of the people a foreign state can be ruled, but without a national government and without the consent of the people, one's own nation can not be governed, far less developed.

Never before in her 20 years history, had the Pakistani nation been so much awfully divided on the fundamentals of the State, both on the national and international issues. In West Pakistan, the minority provinces are agitating against the one unit. In East Pakistan, the Bengalis are nursing a sense of injury that the present regime has thrown to the winds the agreement on which the Constitution of 1956 was formulated : that her majority has been arbitrarily reduced ; that she has been deprived of her promised autonomy and the equal share of the Centre's political and economic powers and privileges ; that her foreign exchange and provincial revenues have been drained out by central control and appropriation, and consequently, her political, administrative and economic development of the province have suffered to the impoverishment of her people. And therefore she demands full autonomy, full appropriation of her foreign exchange, equal share in the defence, parity in all respects and no taxation by the Centre on the provincial resources. The present regime is equally vehemently opposing these demands decried as factors for weakening the Centre. They discover secession in it and level the charges of sedition etc. In the melee, it is hardly distinguishable who is a patriot and who is a traitor. In the absence of democracy and freedom of speech and press, forces of national

disintegration have got unique opportunity to fructify. The disgruntled younger generation who are the most vocal and politically conscious section of the people, and specially those who were born few years before or after 1947 and the new set of people who now hold the rein of the Govt. without having made any sacrifice for Pakistan, may not care to know that much blood of millions of people had to be spilled to achieve Pakistan, and if Pakistan is to survive it must survive not on the strong Centre alone, but by the fullest possible development of both the wings and the unity and will of the people. Once for all these national issues shall have to be sorted out and salvaged from the political forums of the public meeting where cheap sentiment gets upper hand on every thing else, and must be placed at the round table of the national leaders of both the wings for solution by agreement and national consensus. The problems of the wings are not mutually exclusive and intractable. If the national leaders make honest, pragmatic and rational approach to the teleological views of the demands of East Pakistan solution will not be far off. In fact, removal of disparity has been made the constitutional obligation of the government, it only requires the setting up of effective machineries. Multi-racial composition and geographical distance, of necessity, demands a Parliamentary form of Government to give both the wings equal share of the Centre's political and economic powers. For accelerating the development, East Pakistan can rightly demand the full appropriation of her own foreign exchange. As for Central taxation, when its adverse effects on the production, economic development and employment in East Pakistan are sought to be counteracted and made up by the Provincial right of taxation alone, some third alternative machinery may be devised to satisfy both the sides and at the same time it could eliminate those

unwholesome effects on East Pakistan's economy. As for Defence, a machinery should be set up to inspire confidence in East Pakistan so that they may have equal share in defending their whole country and at the same time East Pakistan's defence is secured. As regards parity in services, it is found that out of 424 C.S.Ps recruited from 1950 to 1967 East Pakistanis are 179 only. East Pakistani C.S.Ps recruited as early as 1950 are sufficiently matured and efficient to fill up the vacancy created by the retiring senior members of the old I.C.S for the post of the secretary and deputy secretaries of the Central Govt. They are not only the public servants but are equal citizens of the state. They can equally claim the equal partnership with West Pakistanis in the Central services. Hundred percent new vacancies should be filled up by the recruits from East Pakistan till parity is reached in services. In military services, the number of East Pakistanis are few both in the rank and the file and as such more recruitment should be made and officers in higher rank should not be prematurely retired from active service and sent over to foreign services as military attache, and they should be given more chances when retired in the autonomous bodies of both the wings for the better sense of national integration.

In her international relation also Pakistan is being exposed to risks in her own soil. As a sovereign independent state, Pakistan must get out of all military pacts and treaties and should court friendship of all. But it should be the bounden duty of both the conscious citizens of Pakistan and also the Government that taking the advantage of internal political turmoil and confusion no foreign country gets an opportunity of infiltration in meddling in our national politics and policies by distributing patronages and favours to the political personages through cultural and commercial channels. As evident in other countries, if this is not checked in time

it will bring disasters to the country and will stunt the growth of democracy and national patriotism. Socialism can not be imported, but it grows from within.

Writing of a book of this nature on current problems, specially on the issues which have divided the entire nation and pursuing of the mean path between the two extremes, obviously involves the writer into the sure risk of being misunderstood by both the sides. But as a man whose sacrifice for Pakistan is no meaner than that of any body else, I owe my solemn duty to the Nation to put up the problems in clear terms together with possible solution of them that are now confronting the whole nation and on the fair and equitable and judicious solution of which the very fate of Pakistan rests. In fine, I would fervently appeal and give a clarion call to both the younger generation of both the Wings and the politicians of the older generation and specially to those who are now holding reins of Pakistan's administration to give the best possible consideration to the problems and suggestions I have so labouriously concatenated in this book, and thereby, I shall consider my duty well-done and labour amply compensated.

Dacca.
East Pakistan
12 May 1968

MOZIBOR RAHMAN

Contents

<i>Chaper.</i>	<i>Page.</i>
1. A Bird's Eye View.	1
11. Why Democracy was not practised in Pakistan. (Pre and Post Partition Constitutional and political Development of Pakistan)	36
III. Regional Autonomy	87
IV. Basic Democracy	145
V. Pakistani Nationhood	169
VI. Suggestions	188

Indeed the noblest amongst you in the eyes of God are those that are the most righteous.
(HOLY QURAN)

The Proper person to be entrusted with power is the person most unwilling to accept it.

—PLATO.

It is in the Koran, not the New Testament, that we read the maxim—'A ruler who appoints any man to an office, when there is in his dominions another man better qualified for it, sins against God and against the state.

—J.S.MILL

"One person with a belief, is a social power equal to ninety-nine who have only interests.

J.S.MILL

It is not possible to found a lasting power upon injustice, perjury and Treachery.

—DEMOSTHENES.

The noblest motive is the public good.

—VIRGIL.

Nothing destroys authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power, pressed too far and relaxed too much.—BACON

Give me the benefit of your convictions; if you have any, but keep your doubts to yourself, for I have enough of my own.—GOETHE.

Political Survey of Pakistan

CHAPTER

1

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW

1. Is the future of Pakistan bleak ? As things stand, it is neither gloomy beyond redemption nor rosy. The country has been landed in fathomless depths of frustration as a result of countless economic and political maladies, leading to unrest and chaos. On the political side situation is more intractable, rather ominous. Democracy has been fettered and its apologists have been handcuffed. People, who only 20 years back achieved Pakistan against heavy odds and at an enormous cost of life, property and honour through the judicious exercise of ballot and not by the use of bullet, have been disenfranchised. This irony of fate and shame for the 110 million people is beyond any imagination and has no parallel in human history. In the scale of misfortune of such a magnitude, all other ups and downs in this nation's history, when compared, stand by far outweighed and negligible. The accredited national leaders have been politically ostracised by a sham show dubbed as legal, disabling them from participating in national affairs with a view to reducing them into political limbo of obscurity. Democracy has been declared unsuited to the genius of the Pakistani people and replaced most uncere- moniously by an executive fiat which goes by the name of "Basic Democracy", a nomenclature hitherto unknown

not only to the political thinkers and philosophers but to the most autocratic rulers of the world. It is neither basic nor democratic. It may be a "hybrid" or any thing else but democracy. The primordial motive force behind the import of this sacramental innovation in the Socio-political arena is the wanton desire of one individual to grab and retain all state-power from "grass-roots" upward, in his own hands for all time to come. As the mist, cloud, ice and water are nothing but the manifestations at different times and places of the same substance, so also under this political scheme the Government, the cabinet, the parliament, the executive and the judiciary--all must be brought to order and are nothing in-fact but the different refractions of the same sacramental figure of the President. But the cut of this new experiment in the body politic of the nation is so deep with its disastrous cumulative effects that the nation must take concerted action with all the moral qualities and other resources at its command to regain its honour and appear once again before the world as a self-respecting and honourable entity.

2. History teaches us that though each nation has a right to work out systems for its regeneration according to its genius, one can hardly afford to overlook the mistakes made by others in similar situations without incurring the fatal risk of extinction. Any accumulation of material gains without corresponding gains in the moral and spiritual values, ethical sense, social justice and tolerance, national thinking and intellectual attainments under the new systems or innovations--be they political, economic or ethical, and however lightly thought of for expediency's sake in order to bolster up one's hegemony or to perpetuate one's name in the pages of history, must in time exercise their inevitable influences and precipitate a catastrophe with crippling effects in cumulas on the different stratas of organic society. It is very difficult for a developing nation like Pakistan with limited material and

unproductive human resources and with tremendous lee way to make up, to survive this cataclysm, if the process is not reversed in the initial stage and the virus of such infection is not removed, if need be, by a major surgical operation before it spreads its contagion from head to foot.

3. The prostrated nation is gasping for want of free thought, self-expression and freedom of press. Autocracy has its own philosophy of Government and norms for working out ways for its perpetuation and survival against the collective will of the nation. These norms must militate, for obvious reasons, against the rules of law obtaining in a free society. Despite its favourable and ephemeral effects on a society, the idea and policy of regimentation in the realm of thought and expression only dwarf a nation intellectually and cripple it morally with all other accompanying cumulative socio-political effects.

4. The conscious and subconscious creation and growth of a politically organised society through ages are the highest contrivances of human ingenuity. For the first time in his existence on the earth man could get security of life, freedom of thought and expression under the protection of organised social forces, though with the partial surrender of his birth right—liberty. But with lapse of time, organised interests also grew up and worked behind and under the fostering care of political authority which did not correspond with the common good of the society at large.

What is sauce to a goose may not be sauce to the gander. This tug of war of cross-interests often rendered the partial surrender of individual civil and political rights and liberties into a total loss of these rights to the autocracy. Free expression of free thought of the enlightened section of the society and its natural guardian, the judi-

ary, are the two balancing factors between these two opposite forces in every society---namely, the ruler holding coercive political forces and the unarmed people. Because of lapses in human nature power corrupts a man-in-power positively and absolute power corrupts him absolutely. So in a politically organised society, an organised public opinion with freedom of thought and expression and a free press and independent judiciary are the antithesis to and a check against the existence of a rule either of one man or a group of men who are neither subject for its existence to the consent of the governed, nor are their actions justiciable in the court of any independent judiciary. Freedom of thought and an independent judiciary are the two most vital and sensitive parts of an organised civilised society and the progress of human society has hitherto been possible by keeping the political authority subservient to the rule of law and by striking a balance between the freedom (the fundamental rights of the people upon the power-hungry political authority) and the obligations (rights of the political authority upon the right-hungry people). By nature of its function and obligation, this onerous and sacrosanct duty devolves upon the judiciary.

For this obvious reason both the judiciary and its poor client---the free mind with its organ, the free press, are looked upon with suspicion and considered hostile as a challenging parallel authority against the political, and hence subject to perennial encroachment and interference from the same political authority. But it is an axiomatic truth that the careful nurturing and sustenance of these free organs of human mind and society, free from unreasonablc encumbrances, are the very conditions for the progress of human civilisation, and the moral and legal justification for the existence and continuance of a political authority and its demand of the voluntary obedience of the ruled to its authority, subject, of course, to the fulfilment of certain con-

ditions, must depend in turn upon its capacity to discharge its moral and legal obligation in laying down, creating, developing and sustaining those conditions. The degree of its success in this respect will decide the extent of willing co-operation and obedience of the ruled to its authority. But it is next to impossible in a state where neither the will of the people is the basis of the political authority—a supreme sovereign collective will which is expressed through the exercise of political franchise by the people in elections held at regular intervals, nor are its actions subject to judicial scrutiny in the court of law. In such a state the legal, political and moral obligations and obedience of the people to the political authority cease. Every State is a politically organised society for the promotion of common ends, while the Government is the agent appointed by the people through which will of the State (people) is focussed. According to the supreme court of U. S. A., in case no. 114 U. S. A. 270. Poindexter Vs. Greenhow, "The Government is never the state in itself, possesses no sovereignty and no character of infallibility. The state is ideal person invisible. The Government is an agent and within the sphere of the agency, a perfect representative but outside that is lawless usurpation". So we find that most dangerous folly of far-reaching consequences follows, if Government is confused with the state. The will of the people is the very basis of Governmental authority which is instituted to secure and safeguard some inalienable rights of the people and security of the services and when any Government becomes destructive to the ends for which it was established, it is the right, moral and legal, of the people to alter or abolish it and institute a new Government. This right has been given in the VIRGINIA CONSTITUTION to "a majority of the community".

6 POLITICAL SURVEY OF PAKISTAN

5. The more autocratic the political authority being free from democratic control, the greater is the schism and antagonism between itself and the people. Democracy alone provides that missing link to fillup the gap. The bridging of the gap between the interest of the people and the spirit embodied in the laws, and the wide diffusion of political franchise amongst the people without any distinction of political creeds, faith, caste and interests, are the two known immutable weapons in the armoury of political science for narrowing down the distance between the people and the political authority under which they live.

6. Democracy has never been practised in Pakistan since its very inception. Not a single general election based on direct and adult franchise has been held in Pakistan during her 20 years of existence. Democracy is neither the perquisite of the pedigreed who are the most anti-people and reactionary to any change, nor the political rendezvous of the few unprincipled pseudo-politicians who look upon politics as an art for usurping power through palace clique and not as an opportunity for serving the people and who have in the past juggled with it, manipulating elections or corrupting the administration at the behest of the Head of the State. In effect the Head of the State alone has acted more calculatingly as a political person rather than as a constitutional head, to perpetuate his hegemony against all the normal and established rules of democracy. The fault lies squarely on the shoulder of those who mishandled it and not on democracy itself. The infringement of rights and not the right itself should be punished. Democracy can work and work only on its own established principles and norms, and any deviation from them will bring only endless socio-economic miseries and intractable constitutional

and political problems. To justify one lie, hundreds of lies have to be manufactured and employed, so also to prop up and justify a false phantom of political authority hundreds of political blunders and contrivances are made and indulged in and unscrupulously applied by the political authority at the cost of the permanent values of the nation. Unlike ethics, hypocrisy has many weapons in its armoury and when hypocrisy speaks in the voice of authoritative power in a state, it may mean many ominous things, but logic and rationality take wings.

7. Any arbitrary move to restrict the right of franchise to a small group of persons against the interest of the vast multitude, as introduced in Pakistan under the basic democracy system, will not only deaden the patriotic spirit and lead to spiritual and intellectual decadence of the nation, but will also serve to widen the distance between the people and the political authority. The greater the restriction of franchise, the longer is the distance, and where the right of franchise is conspicuous by its total absence, the fissure is complete. The disenfranchised vast multitude think themselves alien. Era of vicious circle dawns to engulf the socio-political life of the nation. The whole nation seething with discontent and frustration is at once reduced into a cauldron of political fermentation. Patriotism, respect for law and authority, social bonds and values, moral virtues, tolerance, trust, decency and decorum in individual and national life—all evaporate giving way to utter frustration and to vices, intolerance, mistrust, vengeance; and finally to all sorts of acts and thoughts of vengeance, vandalism, struggles and terrorism. Liberty is lost in acts of licence and lawlessness. They fall an easy prey to all sorts of rumours and propagandas, right or wrong, every body posing as a

leader and giving orders, but with none, to execute. Primary leaders lose grip over this vast unwieldy mass full of wrath and vengeance. Repressive measures only drive them under ground. Regimentation with various restrictive measures over press and publicity and complete blackout of news and views and banning of meetings and processions only strengthens and reinforces their belief in rumours and unproved facts. The bewildered nation impatiently and in horror awaits the outburst of the cumulative wrath and vengeance which take place, either by sweeping off the man or the party in power through democratic election, if provided for in time, or, in its absence, through the catastrophic upheaval of the very social and political system in its entirety.

8. But on the other hand the political authority does not sit idle as a goat of sacrifice waiting for the fatal moment. Being alienated from the people by its policy of denial of franchise and in order to fill up the gap, it gives birth to its off-springs at its apex—a class of political parasites, hangers-on, sycophants, buffoons, lampoons, myrmidons and all sorts of other political vandals and hoodlums and fortune-hunters, who are picked up to act as mediums of mass contact and thereby reap a rich harvest as a price. These upstart new political luminaries suddenly shoot up on the political horizon of the country, and not only swirl with tremendous velocity round the supergiant political star—the towering central political authority by the gravitation of enlightened self interest of licences, permits and other economic and political privileges and honours, but they in turn create in their wake in the lowest stratum of the society thousands of other micro-luminaries popularly known as touts to revolve round themselves. These macro and micro political luminaries like hydraheaded hungry monsters enshrined in the

political patronage and administrative immunities, begin stampeding from the seat of the authority to the remotest hamlets and sap up the last drop of economic and moral vitality of the nation. They provide an important link in the administrative chain that girdles the neck of the nation. To complete the vicious circle, the last vestiges of democratic institutions and autonomous bodies—be they educational or pertaining to local self-Government, the training grounds for democracy, are abolished and replaced by nominated hierarchies. The sheet anchor of public and administrative policies, such as honesty, efficiency, impartiality and justice without fear or favour gives way to administrative nepotism, favouritism, corruption, inefficiency, injustice, intrigue and espionage. Suspicious by nature, trusting no body and chiefly relying on espionage and confidential reports, the authority is easily swayed by false reports and the state has to sacrifice many of its best officers upon mere suspicion. As a result in the absence of any security and appreciation of honour and merit, the decorum of civil Governments gives way to laxity and licentiousness.

Old patriotism and enthusiasm for the state almost vanish amongst the officials in the pursuit of personal interest and ambition. The political authority, being confined in a terrible mess of extra security, is jealously guarded by the beneficiaries of the regime like the Falange of general Franco, the Pretorian Guard of Rome and the Turkish janissaries. In official functions they are the main actors and spectators. The entire state machinery, right from the cabinet, and permanent state officials down to the lowest units of administration, is converted into a vast propaganda machinery full of wind-pipes, each vying with the other in eulogising and glorifying the image of the man in power. In the melee the state, the

government, the executive, the judiciary, the political party and the man in power lose their separate identity. Any criticism of the man in power or his government is treated as treason against the state. In fact the whole administration is reduced into shambles. A gloom of corruptions sets in, killing the very life force of the nation.

9. Corruption in administration:— Distance of time and place is no barrier to the strikingly uniform working of human psychology in similar debased circumstances and it corroborates in full the dictum of the great Sadi, one thousand years old, "For every half egg that a ruler takes unjustly, his soldiers roast a thousand Chickens." But by killing and banishing democracy from the country one not only blinds Samson, but brings collapse of the whole fabric of moral virtue and democratic values of the very nation. In fact corruption and dishonesty in government offices have become so rampant and they have plagued the entire society so much that one wonders if their intensity and velocity will surpass even to put into shame and insignificance the open condemnation of the social virus by the then Governor of joint Bengal Mr. Cashey "Not a single wheel of Government machinery moves without the grease of bribe."

10. Time and tide wait for none. But history is replete with innumerable instances that amidst the galaxies of nations that fretted and strutted their hours in the infiniteness of time and illuminated the dark pages of history, only those nations could perpetuate longer which had moral foundation and not intellectual, material and military attainments alone. History which comes down to us with rich spoils of time has no other lesson for us. But a towering personality of the Muslim world, a jurist, a legislator, and a leader, who laid the

foundation of Pakistan by arguing the case for separate electorate ably and successfully before Lord Morley in 1906, had presented a picture of the causes of the downfall of the three successive Muslim dynastic Empires embracing the then known three continents, which is worth reproduction here for their historic materials and importance, as, though they are nearly one thousand years old, in them one will find mirrored his own country's gruesome but real pictures—"Intrigue took the place of statesmanship; character and moral worth were regarded of little moments, political services opened the door to honour and preferment; the scholar made room for the spy and the pander, the honest, independent and loyal for the sycophant and parasite; *the ruler tried to govern by disintegrating the people and creating faction. Their attempt only recoiled on themselves with deadly effect.*"

11. Separation of powers in Pakistan :— In Pakistan all the symptoms of autocracy are visible in their most naked forms. Fundamental rights along with freedom of thought, expression, meeting, procession have been taken away by various restrictive laws and ordinances, such as Public Safety Acts, Press and Publication Acts and Ordinances and the Defence of Pakistan Rules has been resorted to. What comes thereafter is in the lap of the Gods. Tight-lipped nation's voice has been choked up and put to rest in the doldrums. John Stuart Mill in vain cried, "If all the mankind minus one, were of one opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing the mankind."

"Persons of genius, it is true, are always likely to be a small minority; in order to have them, it is necessary to preserve the soil in which they grow....."

Geniuses can only breathe freely in an atmosphere of freedomGenius bloweth where listeth. "Statesman Jefferson believed that dangerous as advocacy and the excitement ideas were, there were greater danger in suppression.....the abuse of speech, for example, inciting a riot, can be punished but the right itself can not be". In Pakistan opposite parties are thought as unnecessary evils and so dubbed as enemy of the state. Loyalty to the individual in power is equated with loyalty to the state which is again identified with the Govt. Legislation by ordinance is rapidly outstripping the legislation proper itself, barring the jurisdiction of the judiciary. The judiciary which is the only oasis in the desert of Asiatic despotism in; Pakistan and which is the last hope of all liberal views and democratic institutions, is holding its staggering existence against heavy odds, administering justice with the good will of world opinion and of the nation and trying to plug in the gaps in what is called the sacramental law of the invisible kingdom of God on this earth by invoking the writ jurisdiction in the dispensation of justice. But the recent measures of transferring and appointing the judges in the district without consulting the judiciary and the interview of High court judges before the executive head before their appointments, a novel device hitherto unknown to the world of judiciary will surely deprive it of the valuable weapons for its protection and the very condition of its independent existence with impartial dispensation of justice. The motive may be anything but honest. Extract of an Ex—I.P.'s article on separation of judiciary, Published on 14th, August, 66 in the Pakistan Observer, is worth reading, "Having already rendered the legislature impotent and helped corrupting the executive. heavy pressure is now being brought to bear upon the judiciary for interfering with

its independence of outlook and its impartiality in the administration of justice.”

12. Quaid-e-Azam on 14th April, 48 at Peshwar talked to the civil officials “I wish also to take the opportunity of impressing upon the leaders and politicians that if they ever try to interfere with you and bring political pressure to bear upon you, which lead to nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism—which is horrible disease and for which not only your province but others too are suffering—if they try to interfere with you in this way, I say, they are doing nothing but disservice to Pakistan.”

In Chittagong again he declared on 25th March, 48. “Members of the permanent services were not concerned with this political party or that. Governments and ministers came and went but the Government servants stayed on. Their’s was a great responsibility. Whichever Government was formed according to the constitution and whoever became Prime Minister or Ministers, their duty was to serve that Government loyally and faithfully and at the same time fearlessly maintain their high reputation, their prestige, their honour and the integrity of the services. It was none of their business to have a hand in supporting this political party or that. These guiding principles of state and policies have either been clearly forgotten in the pursuit of personal gain and ambition or are observed more often than not in the breach.

13: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL POLICIES—

Much has been said about the unique and phenomenal development in Pakistan under the two successive 5—year plans. In terms of the amount of money spent and the sky scrapping beautiful buildings in the few metropolitan cities and towns following the American pattern of development, it is unique no doubt. But compared with the sacrifices of the common people in paying multiple

taxes beyond means and the total national foreign debt incurred therefor which exceed well over Rs. 1,549 crore in foreign exchange alone (Pakistan Economic Survey 1966-67. Page 223); and the progressive rise of poverty and slump, the annual food deficit of 2.5 million tons worth 100c. and diseases and unemployment, this claim of achievement in term of per capita income, G.N.P. and other phraseologies of economic jiggery seems to be meaningless and inconsistent with the realities of life. The planning and policies may be called anything but people's. Any people's planning for 110 million people sunk in the curse of centuries old colonial economic and social exploitations, must adopt among other things the following broad and inescapable principles in the development plans :— namely, (1) ownership and benefit of industrialisation must be broad based

- (2) Utmost utilisation of natural resources and raw materials of the country through industrialisation in order to effect union between agriculture and industry and save further economic exploitation of the agriculturist.
- (3) Principle of self sufficiency of the national economy.
- (4) Industrial policy consistent with principle of labour expansion and not capital expansion alone.
- (5) Balanced development along with infra-structures and in both urban and rural areas.
- (6) Constant and effective timely checks on inflationary effect of lop-sided development.
- (7) Checks on unwholesome effects of imbalanced and unplanned developments on national economy and policies and social imbalances.
- (8) Fair deal to the labour
- (9) Narrowing the gap between the inter and intra-zonal developments.

14. In pursuing the capitalistic mode of economic and industrial policies, the above principles have been flagrantly violated and thereby in the name of solving one visible problem, they have created hundreds of other

problems, hitherto nonexistent, necessitating the setting up of people's planning under people's democratic Government. In fact, a Government free from any democratic control can not formulate and pursue people's plans to solve real problems of the people, as it is not free from the influences of the powerful economic interests associated with its political authority.

15. Firstly, the economic and industrial policies of the present Government have given birth to a social and economic structure just like a pyramid, at the apex of which sits a few tycoon families who have prospered unhindered under the fostering care of the regime; and at the bottom, bearing the entire weight of the structure and maintaining a staggering existence anyhow fighting against death, lie the landless and jobless proletariat and under-paid labour and lower middle class people groaning in abject poverty and bereft of social and economic privilege. The few privileged families have grabbed almost the entire wealth of the nation—each one monopolising at a stretch the means of production and distribution, right from industry, banking, insurance, export and import down to whole sale and even retail business in the country.

They constitute now the most sustaining force behind the regime and are most loathe to any change quite oblivious of the wind of change already blowing in other countries. Even industries built on public money in public sector have been safely handed over to these families. An idea of monopoly and cartelisation will become evident from the fact that less than 19 families hold 75% of the shares of the 189 Limited companies now registered with the stock exchange, Karachi, while only 5% of the remaining 25% shares are held by the public. The power and unwholesome influence of the Wall Street over the White House of U.S.A.

should arrest the timely attention of the thoughtfull of the country. They have successfully divided the society into classes of people—the haves and the have-nots with mutual jealousies and adverse class consciousness. So the industrial and economic policies of the regime have been one of failure in as much as without broad-basing the ownership and distributing the porfits of industries equitably, it has boldly followed the reverse policy of making the rich richer and the poor poorer, causing economic imbalances in the society accompanied by other social and political evils.

16. Secondly, in pursuing the industrial policy, the union between natural industries and agticulture has not been effected, thus causing a great gap between the prices of consumer goods and the agricultural raw materials which are still tied with the apron-strings of the international economic imperialism. The poor peasants are being systematically impoverished as they pay more for what they purchase and get less for what they sell.

17. Thirdly, any idea and policy of national self sufficiency based on capitalistic mode of production and export is limited by the idea and policy pursued by the developed and specially the developing countries. Ultimately international trade will shrink with the shrinkage of the number of items of exports and will consist of those goods only of which the exporting country has natural surplus production and the importing country has got natural deficit.

With this ultimate object in view, industrial policy in our country should be pursued horizontally and not vertically, a policy of diversification and decentralisation employing more hands and relying more on cottage industries for part-production, and not of

cartelisation and centralisation reducing the number of hands. Policy of national self-sufficiency should be pursued in industries producing basic needs with indigenous raw materials and in basic heavy industries catering to the needs of capital goods and defence of the country. The plans have been disappointing in this respect. Import has doubled the amount of export. Basic industries are still a far cry and Pakistan has spent Rs. 160c. for maintaining them and Rs. 377c. on capital goods account in 1965 in foreign exchange.

18. Fourthly, short-term capital-expansion-inducing industrial policy should be replaced by long-term labour-expansion-inducing national economic policies. By investing Rs. 80c. in jute industry in 14 years, only 80 thousand labours have been provided, but without spending a farthing, 7 lacs of weavers in East Pakistan work in cottage industries. Half a dozen cotton Mills can produce the same amount of goods and throw the labour out of employment. Import in East Pakistan of salt produced in 4 large-scale factories at Karachi employing less than 500 labours can render unemployed 3 lacs of labour producing salt in cottage industries in East Pakistan. Hundreds of machine industries can not provide so many jobs. To solve unemployment problem the best way is not to throw out hands already provided by large-scale machine production, but to provide modern technical know-how, power, finance and raw materials at cheap rates and national market. Without this policy the national problems of unemployment in a country of 110 million people can never be solved by capitalistic method of industrialisation. In the second plan, instead of solving unemployment problem, the number of the unemployed has increased by well over a million.

19. Fifthly, the ripple of development has hardly reached the rural areas which has not only caused lopsided development in the urban areas but also caused economic and monetary imbalances within the society. Thus the rural people have paid and are still bearing the burden of development cost without enjoying the benefit of development, but suffering from the evil effects of imbalanced development in the urban areas.

20. Sixthly, without concomitant development of infra-structures such as road, transport, agriculture, waterways, feeder industries, technical education and the constant supply of development materials which are generally imported during execution of main development projects, the economic and development policies have not only, on the one hand, made cost of development most costly almost by 200% and corruption rampant in the development agencies but have, on the other hand, created inflation, making heavy demand on the limited supply in the market. This has caused disastrous cumulative effects in the socio-economic life of the nation—especially in East Pakistan which was already unevenly divided economically. Schism between the prices of raw materials and finished consumer goods on the one hand, and between the ever-rising cost of living and the fixed wages of labour, low pay of employees and the small earning of lower middle class people, on the other, is widening by leaps and bounds giving rise to further economic imbalances, corruption, and untold miseries and political unrest. Taking full advantage of highly protected home markets, some of the industries have reaped 105% profit in one year. But on the one hand, the consumers have paid dearly and on the other, the Government has been cheated of industrial taxes, as 115 out of 189 limited companies which are members of Karachi stock exchange

have not declared dividends properly in order to avoid taxes.

The other disastrous effect is that the industries reaping rich harvest in the protected home markets are exporting only 7% of their annual production. Out of a total G. N. P. of Rs. 4575. c., annual increase of industrial production in 1965 was 1152. c. out of which export was of 88. c. = 7%. As a result, import has doubled the amount of export and the Government are merrily going on as usual, incurring foreign debt to make up the balance of payment.

21. Seventhly, the reckless pouring of money under the unplanned and lopsided development policy, some times pursued on political consideration, into the pockets of few persons and in limited areas, has given rise to a new class of economic upstarts, gullibles, pimps, pests, teddies and political hoodlums, having unwholesome influence on administration, politics and the society. Especially the reckless and unaudited expenditure incurred in the name of rural development but on political consideration, through the B. D. system, has given rise to a class of new hierarchy of reactionary forces causing moral turpitude and economic imbalance in the rural areas. Villages infested by "birds, beasts and basic democrats" have been rendered unsafe and risky for educated people to live in with security of life and honour.

22. Eighthly, in the agriculture sector, the policy and the plan have been a total failure in as much as food deficit has almost increased by geometric mean especially in East Pakistan, where a nearly famine position is prevailing with prices of rice at Rs. 55 per mound. (1967), Ninthly, the labour class who are the most vital part of national economy have been deprived of the benefit of industrialisation. They have been deprived of the benefit of an important weapon — the right to strike, recognised in the civilised world for bargaining with

the employer, with the result that when rice is selling at Rs. 55.00 per maund and a certain Jute Mill is making an annual profit of 1.75. c. its labours get fixed wages of Rs. 80.00 per month.

23. Tenthly, the industrial and economic policy pursued by the Government has failed to bring parity in the development of the two wings of Pakistan, and in striking a balance in development between the developed and undeveloped areas within the respective zones—thus giving further causes of rise for already existing political unrest and economic imbalance.

24. EDUCATION.—The young forces of the country especially the disgruntled young intelligensia—the student community who are the most vocal section in the society is suffering from a sense of wholesale frustration. Instead of utilising the vast pool of energy of immense possibilities for nation building, they have been made a cause of potential danger to the very stability and existence of the civilized society. Hardly there is any educational institution, especially in East Pakistan, which is free from perennial unrest and turmoil. The unplanned educational policy of the regime has not only made the education a more costly and beyond the reach of the vast majority of the poor people, it has created great imbalances between general and technical education, thus giving rise to unemployment and frustration. The octopus of autocracy has spread its tentacles in the sacred precincts of the educational institution eroding the last vestiges of liberal and democratic values of both the autonomous character of the institutions and the student's own forum—the unions, and has marred the serenity of the academic atmosphere. This has made the authority of the educational institutions fully dependent on the vagaries of the political stress, and strains for the very security

of their services, appointment, and promotion. "Political services have opened the doors to honour and preferment and scholars have made room for the spy and the pander". The unwholesome effects of political money has not only divided the student community, but in effect it has given preponderance for a small section of the young perverts who act against the general interest of the student community and has vitiated the serenity, sanctity of the academic atmosphere so much so that even teaching staff must act according to their sweet will, fix or not fix or defer examination dates again according to their will, contact political authority through them and their transfer, posting and confirmation must rest on their recommendation and sometimes they will break each other heads, drive wedge within the teaching staff, break their own teacher's head at the behest of other rival section when occasion so demands and ultimately will go to knock at the door of the judiciary for adjudication over their follies.

25. This is a most touchy matter no doubt, but some people must think rationally and take risk to call spade a spade, as the future of the country rests on the careful handling of the subject. Some time it is facetiously said to over simplify the matter or sidetrack the real issue that the politicians exploit them. But it is very difficult to say if the politicians and the present rulers exploit them, or the latter exploit the former taking them as outdated old hagards—an effete survivals, anachronistic of the age and ideas, and the 19th century protectors of the 20th century's ideas. One will teach them in their academic classes—the principles and values of democracy, freedom, liberty and merits and demerits of Socialism and Capitalism and hundreds of such other ideas on political philosophy,

economics and sociology, but one won't allow them to see those ideas translated into action in the practical life of the nation, in which their poor exploited parents are now citizens and they will be so tomorrow. Instead of apportioning blame willy nilly on probabilities and without committing the mistake of over simplification the statesmen of the country will do positive service to the nation and to themselves as well, if they reorientate their own ideas and mental makeup first, and then try to remove the age old maladies inherent in the educational, social, economic and political systems, not by halting Paliatives, but by thorough recaste and reforms. To arrest their attention to the gravity of the possibilities inherent in the problems, to enlist sympathy, and to invoke interest and introspection in them, I reproduce here a quotation from the report of the great Sadler Commission on the subject, "The existence and the steady increase of a sort of intellectual proletariat not without reasonable grievances, form a menace to good Government specially in a country where ...small educated class is alone vocalagain the gospel of revolutionary socialism or communism finds willing devotees in the young men who nurse a very strong sense of personal injury against a scheme of things in which they have no place.....so long as the great mass of the nation's manhood is driven in ever increasing number, along the same often unfruitful course of study, which creates expectations that cannot be fulfilled and actually unfits those who pursue it from undertaking many useful occupations, necessary for the welfare of the country, any Government however it may be constituted, whether it be hureaucratic or popular, must find its worth hampered by an increasing stream of criticism and natural demand for relief which cannot possibly be met."

26. FOREIGN POLICY :—Pakistan emerged as an independent state of 100 millions, the fifth largest state in terms of number in the world at a time when after the 2nd world war, the powerful states of the world and their satellites were grouping themselves into two blocks,—one, the western block under the leadership of U.S.A and the other the eastern block under the leadership of Russia—each trying to gain over the emerging new nations from their colonial rules to maintain balance of power. The centre of gravity of western diplomacy was shifted from Europe—the venue of war, to the Middle East, where the western imperialists have their vested interests in oil and their self imposed sacred duty to ward off the Russian warm water policy and influence in the area. Middle East and North and East Africa are predominated by muslim nations and geographically West Pakistan is a contiguous part of the Middle East, almost standing in the centre between Europe and South East Asia. Pakistan did not seem to be so much conscious of her importance but the imperialists thought of it in advance. Before the birth of Pakistan, Quid-e-Azam—the father of the nation, was asked by the American Press, if Pan-Islamism—the bug bear of imperialism would be the basis of the foreign policy of the state of Pakistan. The diplomatic reply was “Pakistan will be the most modern democratic Islamic State”, Commonwealth was not mentioned at that time—much to the solace of Russia and more to the apprehension of both U.K. and U.S.A. But the British policy in dividing Indo-Pak subcontinent which made the occupation of Kashmir easy by India, put the two states in perpetual loggerhead and thenceforward the ill fated Kashmir became the cockpit of trouble—the vortex of international politics of the two competing blocks, and the sheet anchor of the directors of foreign policies of both the states.

Where the British Arms failed, her diplomacy won. It not only decided the fate of the future relations of the two states but many of the new Afro—Asian countries too. It was Russia who first realised this imperialist game and though favourably disposed towards India, she did not openly offend Pakistan, as Pakistan had ideological ties with Middle East Muslim states which welcomed Pakistan's emergence as an independent Muslim state, and as she became the first victim of British policy of "divide and rule," and her relation with the British was strained on the issue of the partition of Punjab and Bengal and at the loss of Kashmir. Russia did not exercise Veto in the Security Council in 1948/49 and an unanimous resolution was passed in favour of Pakistan for a plebiscite in Kashmir. Russia invited first Mr. Liakat Ali, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan for a state visit to Russia. Instead of honouring the invitation, Liakat went to U. S. A. and paved the way for the Bagdad Pact (now cento) with U.K., U.S.A., Iran and Turkey and entered in to secret bilateral Military pacts with U.S.A. separately, ostensibly with the purpose of containing Russia, and later on entered in to SEATO, behind the knowledge of the people and the National Assembly of Pakistan. This single factor was the turning point not only in the foreign policy of Pakistan, but also the turning point in the Russian foreign policy visa vis Pakistan and India, and also in the foreign policy of the Middle East Muslim States in general. Russia was atonce turned into an open enemy of Pakistan and she began to support India openly by vetoing Kashmir issue in her favour. India emerged as the champion of the so called Neutral Block of Afro-Asian states by pioneering the cause of freedom struggles against their colonial powers who became the new allies of Pakistan. India began to bag aids, economic and military, from both the blocks—

a unique position which acted very disastrously against Pakistan within the very near future.

Pakistan became ostracised politically in the Afro-Asian countries, almost an outcaste, barring Turkey and Iran. She lost her independent entity separate from the Western block. There is no denying the fact that at the cost of her honour Pakistan was showered upon lavishly with massive military and economic aids, but she failed miserably to utilise the opportunity thus provided unbroken for long 10 years in attaining self-sufficiency in her economy or in the production of military hardware.

27. With years Pakistan became more dependent on U.S.A. which took her for granted. It was Saheed Suhrawardy who for the first time tried to cut this gordian knot and declared that Pakistan's foreign policy was based on the principle of "malice towards none and good will for all". He tried to establish cordial relation with socialist countries especially with Russia and China. He exchanged state visit with Prime Minister Cho-en-lai of China and established cultural and economic ties. He was backed by the people of Pakistan and his own political party, and U.S.A. was forced to swallow it. Though a member of the Bagdad Pact, he got the meeting of the Pact convened without the member of U.K. and passed a resolution against the suez invasion. But subsequently political scene changed on the international chess-board of power politics in favour of Pakistan. Successful detonation of nuclear war-heads and the manufacture of I.C.B.M. by both Russia and U.S.A. made them conscious of the wisdom of living in co-existence. But this co-existence of capitalism and socialism however is counter to the teaching and prophecy of Marxism and Leninism, and as such it led to the emergence of another great world power of 700 millions—China, equally equipped with nuclear weapons

and ideologically separated from Russia—much to the solace and satisfaction of U.S.A. This completely upset the previous balance of powers. CENTO being almost frozen by the contentment of 'co-existence' between U. S.A. and Russia, both found wisdom in helping and setting India with her huge man power against her neighbour China—the common enemy of both.

China provided this most coveted opportunity by attacking India in 1962. Western sense of national and international justice, sanctity and dignity of the Treaty—all were sacrificed at the altar of global policy of strategy and diplomacy keeping the People's China in the view; and poor Pakistan, an ally of 18 years was jettisoned like condemned goods when India, equipped with western and Russian Arms and provoked thereby, attacked Pakistan in September, 1965. But it was a blessing in disguise. It had not only opened the eye of Pakistan in time, but of other members of the CENTO and SEATO. Being baffled in Cyprus and deprived of western help and following Pakistan's misfortune, both Turkey and Iran have turned towards Russia for good understanding and are having economic and cultural ties with her. Pakistan bleeding under wounds, inflicted by her own allies and not yet healed, has gone so far as to exhibit China-made war heads in her Republican day celebration parade. In fact, CENTO and SEATO exist more in myth and sentiment than in reality. France has withdrawn from SEATO and Pakistan sends an observer only. Courtship with China and estrangement from western block have raised Pakistan in stature in the Afro-Asian Countries. At least no country can take Pakistan for granted now. India by her too much coquettering with America has lost her old image and stature. She can no longer claim the leadership of Asia and Africa. The present position of Pakistan and India

visa—vis the Afro—Asian states is almost interchangeable with that of the past.

28. Though destined, Pakistan, at present in all probabilities shall not be in a position to pursue an independent and vigorous forward foreign policy either in the middle East or in dissolving CENTO formally. But an independent foreign policy and a dependent national economy are two self contradictory terms.

America to a great extent controls foreign policies of developing states by her control over weapons of economic and military aids, grants and loans through various aid giving agencies of U. N. O.

If disassociation from CENTO may mean the deprivation of economic aids and grants for her 3rd 5-years plan, which is most vital at the moment and a necessary condition for her future independent national foreign and economic policy, and which can not be recouped from other sources in the event of their suspension, and at the same time if her continuance as a member to flatter the vanity of the West is no bar in maintaining good understanding with the East, then the oversensitiveness of Pak nationalism should for the time being compromise with the phantom of CENTO till it dies a natural death and Pakistan gets in the mean time a self sustaining growth in economic and military position. Pakistanis as a selfrespectful nation should not be unmindful to the fact which is a matter of history by now that how the training of the Pak forces under the CENTO stood the stress of the 1965 September war with India and how Western Arms Supplied to Iran and Turkey found their way towards Pakistan while other Muslim states in the Middle East stood as silent spectators expressing sorrows and condemnation. Upon the ultimate conversion of CENTO in to R.C.D. as a third Muslim block of effective military, economic and cultural potentialities on

the restoration of ideological and brotherly relation between Turkey and Iran and other Muslim states, and upon its capacity of holding balance between the two opposing world Blocks and between the two World Blocks and the 3rd Power China, depends the Survival of not only of Pakistan but of all the Muslim states against the conspiracy and chauvinism of world-Zionism.

29. Some people say that Pak foreign policy is just like hunting with the hound and running with the hare. There is some apparent inconsistency in foreign policy of Pakistan no doubt, as for example, her allies of CENTO, Turkey and Iran had given diplomatic recognition to Israel while Pakistan has not, and on the other hand while Pakistan has recognised China, her other two allies have not. But there is nothing as permanent in foreign policy. Pakistan's foreign policy is in the making and which way it will straighten, future course of events will decide. It is often said that it is not even a point having any existence and not to speak of having any dimension. Foreign policy of a modern state in the late 20th century is nothing but hypocrisy bereft of any moral scruple and fibre, practised in the international field and each contracting nation knows that the pious and high sounding words as international peace, justice, and enlightened self interest are but the official language of camouflage, and the real motive underlying it is always kept in their minds. 'Open covenant to be openly arrived at' is a thing of the past. The best foreign policy of country is that foreign policy which is the most intractable and the least understood. And in this respect Pakistan's foreign policy under the present circumstances is the best.

No sensible person can hazard to keep all the eggs in the same basket in international relation, as the recent happening in Indonesia will act as an eye opener

to them. In fact, no country which roams from door to door of the nations with begging bowls for food and economic aids for the very existence of its population, and which cannot move even a single wheel of its military hardware without importing their nuts and bolts, and which has no backing of the people who are deprived of the political right of electing their Government, can pretend to follow an independent national foreign policy. Degree of economic and military self-sufficiency and the spontaneous political co-operation of the people with a freely elected democratic Government will decide the extent and ratio of the success of the independent foreign policy of Pakistan. And without the political and economic rapprochement between Pakistan and India on the fair solution of Kashmir and other standing problems it will ever remain a far distant cry for both the countries.

POLITICAL SITUATION :— 30 Movement for restoration of democracy. Ominous gloom overcast the political horizon of Pakistan. Air and sky of Pakistan from cities to the remotest hamlets are being rent and agitated by the slogans of the people. Youths and adults, politicians and non-politicians, journalists and writers, labour, peasant and students—all simmering in discontent and frustration at the loss of their political rights, have joined the movement which has assumed the character of a national movement against the autocracy. To suppress the movement the Government have arrested in both the wings hundreds of politician, political workers, journalists, students and labour leaders and are detaining them for years without trial. Various restrictive laws and ordinances have almost completely blackouted news, views and publications and have forfeited some news papers and press. Ban has been imposed on meetings, procession and publicity. Though war ended in September, 1965, the war emergency under

the Defence of Pakistan Rules continues providing cover for arresting hundreds of opposition leaders and workers under it.

It is a matter of great misfortune for Pakistan that, true of the tradition of "unity in adversity and disunity and fall in peace,"—a characteristic of the Muslim nations of the past, the upsurge of national patriotism, sense of unity and integrity and spontaneous political co-operation amongst the people of both the wings, and between the people and the Government, achieved during the emergency at an enormous cost of life and properties, should have been frittered away in the pursuit of personal gain and ambition of the ruler in a matter of few weeks.

31. SCHISM BETWEEN TWO WINGS : DISPARITY AND PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY—

The general political movement in Pakistan has assumed one colour in East Pakistan and a different colour in West Pakistan with different import. The inter and intra-zonal mounting disparity in economic development and in Government services with their resultant impacts—the economic and political domination of one zone or race by the other zone or races has given rise to the demand for autonomy in East Pakistan and to a similar demand in West Pakistan for the reversion to the old provinces on disintegration of the present one unit which was clamped against the will of the minority provinces. To divert the attention of the people of the minority provinces in West Pakistan from their demand for disintegration of one unit in particular, and that of the people of Pakistan from their demand for the restoration of democracy in general, the present short-sighted regime has thought it prudent and expedient for purely personal reasons and at the cost of national interest to misrepresent and distort the real facts, and has given an altogether different political colour to the demand for autonomy which is purely a matter of fiscal,

economic, administrative and constitutional readjustments between the two wings and the centre. This wilful misrepresentation on the part of Government is highly reprehensible and fraught with dangerous consequences and the East Pakistanis are assumed and thereby provoked to toe the path which they have never thought of. This has resulted in the two wings drifting away from each other with colossal misunderstanding and ignorance of the real facts.

32. At this confused moment, to make confusion worse confounded in the view of some, the Awami League, a major opposition political party of Pakistan has come out with 6-point programme as a possible explanation of the provincial autonomy and as the best possible solution for the constitutional tangle of Pakistan. This move has at once been dubbed as a disruptive move for secession of East Pakistan from the centre. To suppress this movement even the Defence of Pakistan Rules have been invoked to arrest the leaders and workers of the movement. Hundreds of leaders and workers had been summarily tried, convicted and sent into jail and fined. With such fanfare, publicity and noise the Government cracked down upon the movement that for a moment I myself thought in bewilderment if I was riding on a wrong political horse which, only next moment, landed me along with other political friends in the central jail of Dacca. Here in the calm, serene moment, free from political prejudices and bias I gave serious thought over the matter as to why the present regime chose the path of political repression and suppression in facing purely a matter of political and economic demands of East Pakistan and would go so far as to compromise the sagacity, wisdom, and foresightedness of their statesmanship in playing with a sensitive matter as patriotism of East Pakistanis who form the majority of

the population of Pakistan. Demand for autonomy in East Pakistan is not a new thing and not against the present regime either. It is the embodiment of the outburst of the cumulative political, social, financial, economic and cultural injustices done to East Pakistan since the very inception of Pakistan. The East Pakistan Assembly in 1957 passed a unanimous resolution for the provincial autonomy which was branded by the then interior minister of Pakistan as an ingenious move engineered by the communist and the fellow travellers with a view to secede from Pakistan and to join hands with West Bengal." Even President Ayub, as defence minister of Pakistan demanded provincial autonomy on 4th October, 1954, and volunteered the following suggestions in para 10 of his notes.

... "For reasons given before, the provinces should have such partnership as is possible and that means that in addition to the subjects already in their hands communication except interprovincial, industries, commerce, health etc. should be handed over to the province leaving *Defence, foreign affairs and currency in the hands of the centre.*" Various commissions have been set up even under the present regime to reallocate finances between the two wings and removal of disparity has been made the constitutional obligation of the Government.

33. Nothing can be far from the truth than the charge of secession and the indictment of sedition to the Awami League. Awami League got as many as 3 chances to lead the state-ship of Pakistan either by a Prime Minister from its own party or as a coalition partner, and as many as 4 chances to head the Government of East Pakistan as chief Minister or as a coalition partner. But no such move of secession was discovered. Moreover, was there better chance for such a move, if at all intended than in the 17 days of September war. After the declaration

of Taskant agreement with India, the West Pakistani brethren were simmering, not without reason, under frustration and discontent and launched a countrywide movement against the present regime. How could an honest man compromise the charge of sedition and secession with the Awami League's clean political conduct in approving the Taskant agreement which nipped in the bud the movement of West Pakistan. This much common sense the Awami League leaders had, if they had any ulterior motive that without approving Taskant agreement and by fanning agitation in West Pakistan, the regime could have been confronted and bogged down there with a motive to launch their own secession movement in East Pakistan with better and sure result. Is it not Awami League which at the behest of late lamented H. S. Suhrawardy accepted parity without which the Constitution of 1956 would not have been possible? Is it not Saheed Suhrawardy who risked his Prime Ministership in opposing the move of West Pakistanis themselves for the disintegration of one unit and now it is an irony of fate that East Pakistanis are branded as disruptionist.

34. Schism between the two wings is widening day by day. The two main cementing forces are the old political leaders who fought for Pakistan side by side and had suffered equally, and the immutable force of Islamic brotherhood. But these old patriots are either in jail or shut up in their own home under the penalty of law. The appeal of Islamic brotherhood no longer thrills the general public of East Pakistan. The general mass groaning under abject poverty and limitless miseries, when they hear the speeches of their public leaders in rapt attention under the scorching sun or torrential rain, and with soaked eyes on the history of 20 years'

exploitation of East Pakistan by West Pakistan and which they find manifested in their present economic and social position, their esoteric sensation for Islamic brotherhood and unity appear to them as the mere mask of exploitation and the causes of their misfortunes. Specially the recent war with India has widely opened the helplessness of East Pakistan so much so that even the most passive, nonpolitical conservative section of the intelligentsia has grown restive and suspicious about the bonafide and efficacy of the bogey of the so-called strong centre. But the consensus is that though, on geo-political consideration and on the basis of experiences derived from 20 years constitutional and economic experiments and specially from the experience of the 17 days—war which is fresh in every body's mind it should no more be justified and realistic to keep the two wings under a unitary and centralised Government as at present, with adverse economic and political interests and with the fear of domination of one wing by the other. But they are equally conscious that any thought of independent existence with 20 years cumulative mutual distrust and animosities and with the common hostile big country out flanking them at two opposite ends is a solution at once fraught with more dangerous possibilities, which any sensible man can possibly hazard to think of.

At this national crisis a master's hand is needed at the helm to save the ship of the state from purposeless drifting. Indeed Pakistan is suffering from as much the political and economic maladies as the crisis of leadership. Death of the great leader like late lamented H. S. Suhrawardy has left a vacuum hardly to be filled up. Never before in her history was Pakistan so badly in need of a dedicated national leader who by the qualities of his head and heart and by his immutable services and sacrifices in the great freedom struggle for Pakistan, would invoke spontaneous love and

affection of both the wings, and who, for personal gain and ambition, will not compromise political and moral principles and statesmanship, national dignity, virtues and interests with political expediencies, fraud and vandalism. Indeed, by generous and large heartedness a national leader does not diminish in stature, rather both he and his country, gain thereby. There are some valiant soldier politicians of the freedom struggle who are still living in both the wings.

35. *They should rise once again with that forgotten missing zeal and spirit of sacrifices from their torpor, lethargy, fear, mutual bickerings and create and galvanise that pool of national enthusiasm, and life force and sentiment that achieved Pakistan in order to keep the two wings wielded once for all on the full satisfaction of their legitimate demands for equal partnership of the state—power, national wealth and right and obligation.*

CHAPTER II WHY DEMOCRACY WAS NOT PRACTISED IN PAKISTAN.

Pre-Partition Constitutional and Political Development.

36. Under normal principles and rules of democracy any democratic government, formed through direct election under universal and adult franchise, presupposes the rule of the majority of the population living within the political boundary of that Government. So any political party which commands majority in the population forms and controls the Government to the exclusion of other party or parties which are in the minority. In other words, every democratic form of Government, of necessity, must be a party Government. Possibility of peaceful change of Government of one party or parties by another party or parties at regular intervals by process of general election, as enjoined in the constitution of the country, is the other main essence of democracy. This essence of democracy is the very imperative and inexorable condition for the successful, nay, for the primary operation of any form of Government in the name of democracy, which in other words, presupposes the existence of more than one political party—one party or a set of parties forming and leading the Government and the rest forming and leading the opposition and vice-versa with the possibility of interchangeability of their respective positions in the next election or elections, ultimately depending upon the

majority votes of the people who are alone sovereign and are the basis of political authority of the Government in the state. So opposition parties are the most vital and indispensable part of democracy. But this imperative working principle of democracy constitutes its main essence as also its inherent weakness in certain circumstances which is most fatal. If a country is inhabited by more than one community with distinct national characteristics or ideologies—racial, ethical, social, political and economic, and the political parties of the country are organised, divided and separated in watertight compartments on the principle of sustaining and furthering the interests of the respective communities and if any particular Community happens to be in perpetual majority by numerical strength, democracy fails to function in that country, as the political party representing that majority community shall remain in power for perpetuity and the political opposition party consisting of and representing the other minority communities of distinct denominational nature shall remain in perpetual minority without any hope of forming an alternative Government in future.

37. Democracy with this obvious weakness foundered in Indo—Pakistan sub-continent on the rock of a two-nation theory, as the sub-continent was inhabited by the two main communities—the Hindus and the Muslims—the former being 3 times greater in number than the latter, thus leaving the Muslim minority community in perpetual minority, or in other words in perpetual opposition, under the perpetual majority rule of the Hindus.

38. In the following language of Quid-e-Azam, the father and architect of the Muslim National state of Pakistan, the 100 million Muslims of British India were declared a nation. "The Mussalmans came to India as conquerors, traders and preachers and brought

with them their own culture and civilization and founded mighty Empires and built great civilizations. They formed and remoulded the subcontinent of India. To day the hundred millions of musalmans in India represent the largest compact body of Muslim population in any single part of the world. We are a nation with our own distinct culture and civilization, language and literature, art, and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calender, history and traditions, aptitude and ambition, in short, we have distinctive outlook of life and ambitions. By all canons of international law we are a nation."

39. So by virtue of a separate religious ideology and other distinct national idiosyncrasies, the hundred million Muslims of British India constituted a separate nation and as every ideological nation must have territory and a Government of its own to guide and mould its destiny according to the tenets of its own ideology, they sought to carve out a separate homeland by partitioning British India on the basis of the principle of "Self determination". But though the Muslims of British India had a common religious ideology in "Islam" they were scattered all over the vast country and as such very few people thought of how all of them were to be accommodated in one such ideologically homogenous national state. Fortunately there were Muslim majority populations in certain provinces comprising 55% in Bengal (and less than that when Bengal and Assam are taken together), 57% in Punjab, 70% in Sind, 92% in N. W. F. P, and overwhelming Muslim population in Baluchistan. So it was thought a viable proposition that Muslim Homeland, later on called Pakistan, should comprise these six Muslim majority provinces of the British India. But Muslim population in those six provinces comprised only a little over three fifths of the

total Muslim population of the then British India. But a "consolation" device was found out that separate muslim state of the six Muslim majority provinces would enable them to bargain for the fair deal for the minority Muslims left out in the Hindu majority provinces under the Government of the Hindu India—a pious and short sighted device of political expediency which however laudable and exciting at the moment, had subsequently been belied by grim facts and only culminated in diminishing their number and reducing them into second grade citizens in demonstrating their loyalty to the state. Any way, the Indian Muslims were made a nation on the basis of religious ideology and a homeland was sought to be established not by partitioning India on the basis of territory to be inhabited by Muslims alone by interchange of population but on the basis of provinces inhabited by majority Muslim population.

40. In tracing the constitutional and political developments leading to the establishment of Pakistan, one can hardly forget the illustrious names of the Late Agá Khan and Sir Syed Ameer Ali, but for whose untiring efforts and selfless sacrifices, the separate electorate—the basis of the Muslim political organisation—the forerunner of the All India Muslim League would not have been possible in 1906.

It was the Aga Khan who strived to the last breath of his life for the unity of Indian Muslims and for the struggle for Pakistan under the banner of a single platform—the All India Muslim League. And it was Sir Syed Ameer Ali, a judge, a jurist, a historian and a world famous Muslim statesman who by his powerful advocacy before Lord Morley and Minto secured separate electorate for the Indian Muslims which was subsequently incorporated in the Indian Council Act of 1909. From this time onward the Muslim demand have

been one of constitutional and administrative safeguards for the political, cultural and economic interests against the domination of Hindu Majority rule under any scheme of future constitutional setup or reforms in India, and it was confined within the bounds of a separate electorate and proportional representation for the Muslims in the Legislative Council. Keeping this in view, the Muslim League council in 1913 adopted a formula for the "attainment under the aegis of the British crown of a system of self Government suitable to India." The Indian National Congress, on the other hand, declined to surrender the right of the majority and urged that the constitutional development of India should follow the British model and in 1906 passed a resolution that the system of the Government obtaining in Great Britain should be extended to India.

41. At the end of the first world war the Lucknow pact formed the basis of the Montague—Chemsford reforms of the Indian Council Act of 1919 which inter alia guaranteed a separate electorate and proportionate representation to the Indian Muslims much to the chagrin of the Indian Hindus.

It was Moulana Hasrat Mohani, the then President of the All India Muslim League, who went a step forward from the demand of 'dominion status' and in 1921 advocated a theory that though the Muslims were in minority in India, in some provinces such as Kashmir, Bengal, Punjab, Sind and Assam, they were more in number than the Hindus and as such those provinces should constitute autonomous units in an all-India federation similar to that of the United States of America. In May, 1924, the Muslim League council with Mr. Jinnah in the chair at its Lahore session pressed for a constitution of India on a federal basis with full and complete provincial autonomy, the functions of the

central Government being confined to such matters only as are of a general and common concern on the basis of a separate electorate and proportionate representation. In commenting on the said proposal of Federation Late Lajpat Rai, the then Congress President, said, "Moulana Hasrat Mohani has recently said that the Muslim will never agree to India's having Dominion status under the British. What they aim at are separate Muslim states in India united with Hindu states under national federal Government. He is also in favour of smaller states containing compact Hindu and Muslim Population. But it should be clearly understood that this is not united India. *It means a clear partition of India in to a Muslim India and a non-Muslim India.*"

42. The opposite demands and consequently the growing Hindu—Muslim tension are well reflected in the following words of the then Secretary for India, Lord Barkenhead, "To me it is inconceivable that India will be ever fit for dominion self Government. Hindus and Muslims are irreconcilable. All the conferences in the world can not bridge the unbridgable". In 1928 he challenged the Indian leaders to produce their own schemes for a constitution. A conference representing all the political parties met at Delhi in Feb, 1928 and set up a committee with Pandit Motilal Nehru as chairman, known as Nehru committee, to formulate the principles of future Indian constitution based on Hindu Muslim agreement. The committee characterised the fear of Hindu domination as baseless and illogical and said, "The Hindus, although in great majority all over India, are in a minority in Bengal, Punjab, Sind, Beluchistan and N. W. F. P. In spite of their all—India majority they are afraid of the Muslims in those provinces."

The report demanded a Constitution for unitary form of Government in the centre and rejected not only the

scheme of federation along with its basis of provincial autonomy and weightage for the minorities but even the separate electorate and proportionate representation which were already agreed upon and were in operation. All-party conference again met in Calcutta to consider the report. Mr Jinnah, then a stalwart of the Congress itself, moved several amendments, later on embodied in the famous 14 points, to accommodate Muslim demands and pleaded for weightage for minorities not on *the principle of the ratio of population but on the principles of equity for political settlement between the Hindus and Muslims*. But all his amendments were rejected. The immediate effect of this rebuff was the closing up of the rival groups in the Muslim League who met at Delhi towards the end of 1928 and passed a resolution called the "Delhi resolution" embodying the famous fourteen points of Jinnah, which re-emphasised its earlier demand for a federation with complete autonomy and residuary powers to the constituent provinces.

43 Nehru report was the turning point in the history of Muslim demands for constitutional solution of India. As a result the last vestige of Hindu Muslim unity vanished. Sir Mohammad Iqbal in his address as President of the All India Muslim League at the Allahabad conference in 1930 demanded a separate Homeland for Indian Muslims as a solution for the Indian constitutional tangle. And Chaudhury Rahmat Ali, a Cambridge student, christened it with the name of "Pakistan" before its birth. Mr Jinnah and the Indian Congress boycotted the Simon Commission and in the Round Table conferences held in 1930-31, the Muslim League reiterated their demands for all India federation with fullest possible autonomy for the federating provinces, with least possible powers to the Centre and maximum possible powers including residuary

to the provinces and also providing separate electorate and proportionate representation to the Muslim minorities.

These demands were embodied in "Communal Awards" and made the basis of the Federation under the India Act of 1935.

44. The Government of India Act 1935 recognised the principles of provincial autonomy and a federation. Sind, an area predominantly Muslim in population, was separated from the Bombay Presidency and made a Governor province. In its 1937 Lucknow session the Muslim League declared that its creed was the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states. This Act was put in to operation from April 1st, 1937 and the Congress returned in election held under the Act in over whelming majority even in some of the Muslim Majority provinces conjointly with nationalist Muslims and refused to form a coalition ministry in both the Hindu Majority and the minority provinces with the Muslim League members in violation of the "Instrument of Instruction," a statutory safeguard for minority's inclusion in the ministry. This statutory provision of "as far as possible" for including the minorities in the cabinet is well comparable with the provision of "as far as practicable" of 1962—Constitution of Pakistan for enforcing parity for the East Pakistan in the central subjects, and both were honoured more often than not in the breach. At last the Muslim League in its 1940 session at Lahore passed the historic resolution for separate, sovereign and independent states for the Muslims of British India. The rupture between the Hindus and Muslims in India was complete. The Lahore resolution contemplated two independent and sovereign states for the Muslims of the subcontinent, one comprising Bengal and Assam and the other comprising the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, North West Frontier Province and Kashmir.

45. While the second world war continued, the British Government in order to enlist support in its war effort declared on the 8th August, 1940, "It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly decried by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government." This assurance though it invigorated the demand of the Muslims for Pakistan at the moment, like many other assurances in the past was safely given the go-by at the time of inviting the Congress to form the interim Government by-passing the Muslim League.

46. After the failure of the long protracted negotiations and the tripartite Simla conference in 1945, a general election was ordered to substantiate the demand of the Muslim League that it represented the Muslims of India and that the Muslims of India stood for Pakistan. Against heavy odds, men and money, hostile press and propaganda, comparatively meagre literacy and political consciousness and the antagonism of a section of a powerful Muslim religious hierarchy, the Muslim mass of British India won the day and gave the verdict in clear and unmistakable terms in favour of Pakistan. Quislings, show boys and political myrmidons who were then as common a phenomenon as they are at present in Pakistan and no less active in sabotaging the cause of the people, were picked up and freely used to mislead the Muslim mass. Under the able leadership of Late Lamented H.S. Shahrawardy and Mr. Ahul Hashim, the then General Secretary of Bengal Provincial Muslim League, the Muslim League won 97% votes in Bengal and formed the only single party majority Muslim League ministry there. Among the other Muslim majority provinces, only in Sind the

Muslim League ministry with a majority of one solitary person could form the Muslim League ministry for some time. In the second election held in December, 1946, the Muslim League could return as a single majority party and form Muslim League ministry in Sind. This is an irony that these very people who successfully passed the ordeal and gave clear verdict for Pakistan through ballot, were suddenly found unfit after 19 years for political franchise in Pakistan by some usurpers who were not associated with the Pakistan movement in any way and who have picked and piled up fortunes because of the independent state of Pakistan.

47. **Cabinet Mission Plan** :—In March 1946, a British cabinet mission consisting of Lord Pathick Laurance, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade and Mr. A. V. Alexander, first Lord of the Admiralty came to India with a constitutional plan, called the Cabinet Mission Plan. The plan suggested three autonomous groups of provinces of British India and a central Federal Government. The 'Group A' consisted of provinces, now included in West Pakistan, 'Group B' consisted of provinces of Bengal and Assam and Group C consisted of Hindu Majority provinces in India. In the long term plan the members of the Constituent Assembly were to sit separately and frame constitutions for the centre and the groups. The groups and the provinces could opt out from the centre and the group respectively after a certain period of the framing and enforcement of their constitutions. In the short term plan the Congress and the Muslim League were jointly to form interim Government at the centre on the basis of parity. Both the Congress and the Muslim League accepted the plan at first, but the Congress later on put a different construction and interpretation on 'grouping' in fear of losing Assam and resiled from its previous stand.

48. The British Government now scrapped their own proposal of May 16 and went back on their declaration of June 16 and refused to go ahead with their proposal of forming the interim Government although repeated assurances had been given that it would be implemented even if one or the other of the parties rejected it. It was done obviously to placate the Congress.

The Viceroy made a different proposal on 22nd July, 1946 which differed substantially in material content from the cabinet mission plan of May, 16 and the Muslim League as such withdrew its acceptance of the long term plan of Constituent Assembly on July, 19. Thus the Viceroy got an opportunity in this rejection of the Muslim League and invited the Congress on the 6th August to make their proposal for the formation of interim Government though the Congress in its letter of 22nd July did not accept the long term plan. The Congress now accepted the invitation with reservation of mind and His Majesty's Government announced on the 25th August the names of the members from the Congress party of the interim cabinet who were to take office on the 2nd September, 46. The cup of sorrow and ignominy for the Muslims of India was too full.

The Muslim League, being shocked by the outright betrayal and perfidy of the British Government, decided to launch 'direct action' to forestall this nefarious game of selling the interests of Muslims of India and declared the 16th August as the fateful day to be observed for this all throughout India.

DIRECT ACTION AND CALCUTTA CARNAGE.

49. On the fateful day of the 16th August, 1946, more than a million of Muslims of Calcutta and of

its suburbs and mufassils converged under the Octerlany monument of central Calcutta to celebrate the day unarmed and unaware of any attack from the militant groups of the Hindus who launched the real direct action against the unarmed Muslim mass on well organised and premeditated plans. Soon law and order as also humanity vanished in a moment from Calcutta, the second largest city of the British Empire, which was in grip of complete lawlessness and anarchy. Blood hounds in human forms unmuzzled the tigers of their savage passions. Surcharged communal feelings and dire spirit of vengeance and vandalism overpowered the people of both the communities so much so that in blind fury, outrageous frenzy and mad orgies they exceeded all limits in the name of fighting for independence and plunged in heartless slaughtering of helpless and innocent men, women and infants who had no connection whatsoever with politics. These communal fanatics indulged at random in rapine, arson, pillage, loot, destruction of private and public properties, and this political genocide organised on an unprecedented scale continued for days together. Situations, as usual under the similar circumstances, went out of the hands of the political organisers who took shelter in safe corners and the poor outraged Calcutta, ravaged by the gundas, hoodlums, murderers and other myriad antisocial elements who ruled over her with unquestioned authority, was reduced to a great inferno. Those who survived the prevailing wholesale massacre luckily got in effect a rebirth of life. Horrors committed against humanity unabatingly for days together in the name of politics and religion will pale into insignificance even the horrors of the September massacre of the French Revolution and can only be compared with the ravages of the scourge of Asia—the Chen-Ghis Khan.

50, This horrible news of the Calcutta carnage cast a shadow of gloom over the entire world, rocked the foundation of the British Empire and shocked the British conscience who now understood the follies of the British statesmanship in inviting the Congress alone to form the interim Government. United India now seemed to be no more than a myth to them. To the people of Bengal, mad with communal frenzy, life of human beings seemed so dangerously cheap and the price of independence too dear. But the Muslims of Bengal had to spill blood as a price not so much for political rights as for the follies of their political leaders who, though in power at the moment, were not posted with the real situations through intelligence agencies and consequently failed to protect the trapped unarmed people of the public meeting. Whatever pious intention the authors of the 'Direct Action' had in their mind and whatever interpretations they might have given later on to exonerate themselves, no sensible person could remain oblivious of the ominous feeling of fear reflected in the words "Direct Action", specially when summoning of the Hindu Congress by the British Government to form the interim Government provided the background for observing such a day as a mark of protest. Late Suhrawardy was the then Chief Minister and his timely steps and indenting of armed police forces from the Punjab saved the Muslims of Calcutta and Bihar from wholesale massacre and extermination.

51. Calcutta opened the flood gate of communal riots all over the provinces of British India and Muslim Bengal's blood was not shed in vain. Where British arms failed to keep India within its Empire, knife succeeded in dividing India. It compelled Lord Wavel to review the entire situation in the following words. "As a result of these killings in Calcutta, India is on

the verge of Civil war. It is my duty to prevent it. I will not allow congress to form a Government which excludes the Muslims, they will then decide that 'Direct Action' is the only way and we shall have the massacre of Bengal all over again.....We need them in the Government, India needs them, and, if you are seriously concerned over the danger of civil war—and you must know as well as I that the danger is great—you need them too. In the circumstances, I feel that it could be unwise, even perilous, if I allowed the Congress to form an interim Government on its own." Late H.S. Suhrawardy's negotiation between the Viceroy and M.A. Jinnah saved the Muslims from this critical situation and paved the way for their joining in the interim Government. On the invitation of the Viceroy, the Muslim League nominated 5 persons who entered the interim Government on the 26th October, 1946 to safeguard the 'Muslim interests and to forestall against the move of the Congress for using the 'entire Government machinery' against the 'movement of Pakistan' and as a result a perpetual deadlock in the cabinet arose and the Muslim League did not join the Constituent Assembly either.

52. The Cabinet Mission plan failed. Lord Wavel was recalled, and Lord Mountbatten was appointed Viceroy. India was rent by communal riots and all the parties realised now that united India and Hindu Muslim unity were a myth and not a practical feasibility. Mountbatten came out with a constitutional plan for India on the 3rd June, 47 which provided for the partition of British India and both the Hindu Congress and the Muslim League accepted it.

MOUNTBATTEN PLAN : PARTITION OF BENGAL AND PUNJAB :
THE PARTING BRITISH KICK.

53. Sovereign and independent states of Hindu India and Pakistan were brought into existence on the 14th

of August, 1947 by partitioning British India. This was done not on the basis of Hindu Muslim majority provinces, nay, not even on the basis of Hindu-Muslim majority districts. On the mandate of Muslim League High Command the Muslim members of the Bengal Assembly voted against the partition of Bengal, but the Hindu members voted in favour of partition. H. S. Suhrawardy with the blessing of M. A. Jinnah and Sarat Chandra Bose with the blessing of Gandhi tried for greater Bengal with or without Assam. but the move failed because of the opposition of other Hindu Leaders. Mr. Radcliff was accepted by both the parties as arbitrator for partition. As a result Muslim Bengal lost Calcutta and even the Muslim majority districts like Malda and Murshidabad. Districts of Malda and Dinajpur were divided in order to give India a passage to Assam through Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. Only one curtailed district called Sylhet was given to Pakistan from Assam. On the other side, Punjab was divided and west Punjab was deprived of her very life line—the head of sulemanaki water works situated in Gurudaspur district to give India a passage to Kashmir.

54. It is the misfortune of the Muslims that though they had, for the first time, taught the art of writing history to the world and contributed a vast store of rich experiences of 8 hundred years throughout the world they have seldom taken any lesson from it. They had lost the vast Muslim Indian Empire only a hundred years back to the gain of the British whose world Empire consisted of more than 75% of the Muslim states and the British political conduct with the Muslims throughout the course of history, specially, since the fall of Churchill, had been one of persistent and unbroken perfidy, mistrust and partisanship. Nevertheless they as the vanquished could ungrudgingly repose

faith again in the British to preside over the destiny of 100 million Muslims at the time of 1947-partition.

But as a departing victor the British sense of moral and political justice and gratitude could never rise to that sacramental height in dispensing justice and fair deal to the once 'vanquished' from whom they had seized power and whom they could not spare from a parting kick given as a penalty for demanding a separate homeland for the Muslims of India.

POST-PARTITION CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PAKISTAN.

55. A nation, a state, a Government and a history with glorious chapters of human aspirations and unparalleled sacrifices for a great cause were made on the 14th of August, 1947 followed by a post-partition holocaust, caused by Hindn-Muslim communal riots in Delhi, Lahore and other provinces and the prince states of Hindustan, which created an epic in the history of struggle for the freedom of Indio-Pak Subcontinent and it beggars all description. Millions perished at home and on way in riots, and the Muslims were exterminated even in their homes and hearths. An inhuman genocide was perpetrated too on an unprecedented scale, engineered on political consideration directly under the nose of and at the instigation of some of the political leaders.

56. The birth of Pakistan was itself a wonder and a crowning example of what a group of people can achieve against heavy odds with unity and sincerity of purpose, a will and a determination to achieve it and under the able generalship of a devoted national leader. It was unique and unthinkable in human history that within so short a period of 7 years, a scattered and internally disrupted and distracted, politically disorganised and unconscious, and economically and literally backward and unwieldable mass could have transformed themselves

into a nation and at the same time established a national state and a Government of their own. But it is still truer and stranger and a tragedy for humanity that, so soon in Pakistan after its birth as in no other nation, the upsurge of national feeling of 'oneness and patriotism, the spirit of unity, and brotherhood, sacrifice and discipline, the strength of mind and character, forming the life-force of creative energies, and aspiration and the limitless enthusiasm acquired at such an enormous cost of human life and properties, should have been, for lack of proper guidance and clear cut philosophy of a polity, frustrated and frittered away as misdirected energies, degenerating into nation-killing disintegrating forces of fissiparous tendencies and mutual distrust.

57. An idea, prematurely conceived or conditioned by political exigencies and expediencies and still more prematurely delivered to a mass with no conception yet to renlise its ultimate objectives and their obligations under it, can hardly find full expression and like the dragon's teeth, instead of becoming a boon, veritably becomes a cause of potential danger to them as a coercive social force. *Pakistan, before its birth, in the absence of any basic state—principles and policies, officially accepted and approved by people's political organisation and publicly declared, embodying the ultimate conception of its polity—the basis of the state, the form of the Government, 'if people's will' will be the basis of political authority, economic and social order and principles of policies of the state—remained as an unfulfilled iden.* As such, after its birth, some people outside political powers found in it the revival of the lost glory and lustre of the great Mughals and some the revival of the austere Khilafat, but to some others, already in the ecclone of the power-group, it provided an excellent readymade opportunity to perpetuate and consolidate

their position, privileges and political and economic windfalls ; Economic vested interests found in it an unique chance of exploitation in the absence of any competition, and increase of monopoly wealth ; Public servants, whose destined role as the sole arbiter of the destiny of the new nation not yet fully conceived, found a God-gifted opportunity for rapid promotion and soaring position in the vacuum left by the Hindus and other migrants. But to the great sacrificing self-deluded fatalist masses who found divine dispensation alone in the creation of Pakistan and ultimately depended upon it, Pakistan was a sacramental and transcendental machine to be worked out by the divine will itself on their behalf, as if 'Salwa and Manna' would be showered upon the sleeping people of this 'holy' land from the heaven above.

58. If these ignorant masses and the so-called political intelligentsia of Pakistan were conscious of their political rights and obligations and remained vigilant, and made even a fraction of the sacrifice they had made for its achievement, the fate of Pakistan and Pakistanis would have been different and her history differently written.

Not blood alone, but the perpetual and constant vigilance on the part of its citizens, is the price of liberty. This colossal ignorance on the part of the vast multitude led to the defeat of the great cause—a cause for which millions have fought and suffered in life and properties ungrudgingly—a cause, which defeated the combined forces of the mighty British power and diplomacy and of the Hindu chauvinism, to be in itself defeated by its own protagonists and votaries.

INORDINATE DELAY IN FRAMING CONSTITUTION

59. The constitution of Canada consisting of 147 articles was framed within two years, that of America

within four months, that of South Africa consisting of 153 Articles within one year, that of India with 7635 amendments within 2 years 11 months 18 days. Turkey framed her constitution of 1963 within one year and held general election thereunder within 3 months. Quid-e-Azam lived for 391 days after the birth of Pakistan and it is not known if he had worked out any schemes for constitution of Pakistan to serve as guide lines for the Constituent Assembly. But we can have some definite ideas from his various public speeches and statements made from time to time before the nation and also before the foreign press and nations which leave no doubt in mind about the socio-economic and political pattern of state he envisaged for Pakistan. In Madras League session in 1943 he said, "Democracy is in your blood,...Democracy is in our marrow." In 1945 he said during his interview with A.P. of America, "Politically Pakistan will be a democracy...an opposition party or parties are good correctives for any party which is in power... The Government of Pakistan would be a people's Government." In 1948, February, in his broadcast talk to the people of America he said, "Pakistan's constitution has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this Constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam". In his interviews with Daily Workers, London, 14th October, 1944, he said "Pakistan is the Muslim's demand for freedom because Muslims in Pakistan want to be able to establish their own real democratic popular Government. The Government will have the sanction of the mass of the Population of Pakistan and will function with the will and the sanction of the entire body of Public in Pakistan, irrespective of caste, creed and colour". On economic and

Social order of the future state, he said on 24th April, 1943 in Delhi Muslim League session "Here I would like to give warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system, so vicious, so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. Exploitation of the masses has gone in to their blood..if they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new conditions of life. If they do not, God help them. We shall not help them". He visualised Pakistan as a poor man's state. As regards economic structure of Pakistan he said "Its major industrial and Public utility services would be socialised... ..in these modern days essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the state". In his Calcutta speech, 1946, 1st March, before the students, he said, "I am an old man, God has given me enough to live comfortably at this age, why should I turn my blood in to water, run about and take so much trouble? Not for the capitalists surely". On one nation-hood he said "you belong to a nation, you have now carved out a territory, a vast territory, it is all yours, it does not belong to a Punjabi, or Sindhi or Pathan or a Bengali, it is yours. Pakistan was claimed and achieved in the name of a hundred million Muslims on the definite and positive plea that the hundred million Muslims of the sub-continent (and not Bengalis, Sindhis, Punjabis etc.) were a separate nation." He exhorted the civil servants to change their outlooks by saying, "that you should try to create atmosphere and work in such a spirit that every body gets a fair deal and Justice is done to every body. And not merely should Justice be done, but People should feel that Justice had been done to them". On 25th March 1948, at Chittagong he addressed the civil servants, "members of the permanent civil service were not concerned with this political party or that. Governments and ministers came and went, but the Government

servants stayed on. Their's was the great responsibility, whichever Government was formed according to the constitution, and whoever became prime minister or ministers, their duty was to serve that Government legally and faithfully and at the same time fearlessly maintain their high reputation, their prestige, their honour and the integrity of the service. It was none of their business to have hand in supporting this Political party or that political Party." He also warned the Politicians in his speech at Peshwar on the 14th April, 1948. "I wish also to take the opportunity of impressing upon the leaders and politicians that if they try to interfere with you and bring political pressure upon you which leads to nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism which is horrible disease... If they try to interfere with you in this way, I say, they are doing nothing but positive disservice to Pakistan". Addressing the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on the 11th August, 1947, he said, "Now if we want to make this great state of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely contribute to the well-being of the people and specially of the masses and the poor". So we can safely deduct from the above speeches and statements, that Quid-e-Azam visualised a modern democratic and socialist state of Pakistan. And let us see how far these ideas and state policies were faithfully followed by his followers after his death.

61. Pakistan started her destiny with three marked God-gifted blessings—firstly, a selfless and dedicated national leader, embellished with the qualities of head and heart and a sterling character, at whose beck and call, the hypnotised Muslim mass of Pakistan would stand and sit; secondly, a people numbering a hundred millions, equally tried, dedicated and ready to make any supreme sacrifice for the cause of the nation at a

moment's notice, and thirdly, a vast territory rich with rare natural resources.

62. Election to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, immediately after its birth, was held on the basis of proportionate representation according to population of the two wings, and not on adult franchise through general election but by the members of the existing provincial Assemblies elected in 1945. East Pakistan got 44 seats and the four provinces of West Pakistan 28 Seats in the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. As many as 7 non-East Pakistani members and mostly 5 West Pakistani including the Prime Minister Liakat Ali were elected from the quota of East Pakistan.

It was given the dual functions—one of the constitution making and the other of national parliament for law making of the country.

63. Thus far everything went well. East Pakistan had one crore more population than that of all the four provinces of West Pakistan taken together. This constituted a misfortune for East Pakistan and a great sore in the body politic of Pakistan as a whole. Karachi, the provincial capital of Sind province, was selected for the capital of Pakistan in place of Dacca, the Capital city of the majority province—East Pakistan. East Pakistanis accepted this as a mark of great respect and gratitude to the founder of the state as Karachi was the birth place of the father of the nation—Quid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Out of an upsurge of national feeling and love of brotherhood, the East Pakistanis had already sacrificed seven seats to non-East Pakistanis who were their comrades-in-arms and had suffered equally in the common struggle for freedom. Thus we see that at the initial stage the spirit of common brotherhood and “who can make more sacrifice to the other zone” pervaded the whole political atmosphere

of Pakistan and there was no discrimination between the Bengalis and the Punjabis or the Pathanis.

64. But soon the centuries-old, providence-ordained sins for the Muslims, "Unity in adversity, and diversity, disunity and fall in peace" waited to overpower the Pakistani nation too and consequently inflicted a great jolt which opened a crack in the subjective feeling of oneness of Pakistan. West Pakistanis this time touched at the most tender and sensitive point of East Pakistanis, their mother tongue, the Bengali language. Now she was asked to sacrifice the claim of her mother tongue as the sole state language in spite of its being the language of the majority of the population of Pakistan and even as one of the two state languages of Pakistan; and Urdu was sought to be imposed as the only state language of Pakistan. The East Pakistanis, conscious of superiority in number, education, political consciousness and sacrifice made for Pakistan, reacted very sharply against this proposal and saw in the disastrous move the superiority complex and political domination of the West Pakistanis and a political conspiracy for the language and cultural genocide of East Pakistan. In the 1952 language movement of East Pakistan some valuable lives of public and students were lost.

On this blood bath, the Bengali language had been accepted as one of the two state languages. To commemorate this occasion, date and sacrifice, a monument had been erected at Government expenses at Dacca and anniversary is held in great solemnity every year to pay homage to the souls of the martyrs. The reasonableness of the demand was that though this was the mother tongue of the majority population of Pakistan the East Pakistanis did not claim to make Bengali the only state language of Pakistan while the unreasonableness of the west Pakistanis demand was that they

sought to impose Urdu as the sole state language. This short sighted policy of the West Pakistani politicians embittered the brotherly feelings and relations between the two wings which had far reaching cumulative effect in future.

65. But still greater misfortune waited for East Pakistan or should I say, even for Pakistan. When the Constituent Assembly sat down to frame the Constitution for Pakistan, the West Pakistani politicians suddenly discovered that East Pakistanis were 56% of the population of Pakistan and as democracy meant majority rule and if democratic constitution was framed and adopted for the Pakistan state, the East Pakistanis would have perpetual domination in Pakistan. In their mad Zeal for power politics, they forgot that any political party to have domination in Pakistan must not be formed on zonal basis, but on all Pakistan basis and must secure majority votes not by representing interests of one zone, but those of the majority people of both the zones of Pakistan. The Constitution makers, who were never elected by the people differentiated between the people of the two zones of Pakistan for the first time in the history of Pakistan movement. These blind people, and most of them having no sacrifice to their credit, with ulterior and parochial motives, forgot at the moment the inhuman sacrifice of the masses who had staked every thing for the cause of one nation, one state—Pakistan. They forgot that still teeming millions were living in abject poverty, illiteracy and ill—health which have been further accentuated by the partition, and millions of uprooted refugees were living under the sky in sub—human conditions like cats and dogs and vainly waiting for reha habilitation and alas ! Pakistan was demanded as a homeland in their name to improve their lots.

But forgetting everything else, the pressing need of the hour, the legislators-cum-constitution-makers very shrewdly thought it worth while to discover which province of Pakistan had majority and exercised their fertile brain in devising ingenious ways and schemes with only one object in view—how to reduce majority of East Pakistan—thus cutting at the very root of one nationhood, on the basis of which the very state of Pakistan had been claimed and achieved only a few months back with the countless slaughters of poor Muslims of British India.

66. Incipient Muslim Nationalism in British India assumed the character of Islamic ideological nationalism and was resolved itself in to tremendous socio-political national forces which was made both the basis and the basic forces for Pakistan movement and which, transcending territorial and zonal boundaries and racial loyalties and prejudices, eventually achieved Pakistan. After partition, this Islamic ideological nationalism of Pakistan for the follies of the short-sighted policies of certain West Pakistani politicians foundered on the rocks of provincial boundaries, racial loyalties, and zonal economic and cultural interests and have completely been engulfed by them. Pakistan's Islamic ideological nationalism, now degenerated and lost in territorial and racial nationalism, has been bereft of those creative forces which united the scattered Muslims and achieved Pakistan. Pakistan has now unmuzzled disintegrating forces in Pakistan. Pakistan's nationalism has now been channelled into two grooves, one coursing against the other on the basis of zonal interests. These short sighted, zonal minded leaders of West Pakistan failed to see in their nefarious game the cardinal truth of dangerous and far-reaching consequences that in depriving the East Pakistanis of their legitimate democratic right of majority, they were killing not only the very basis of one nation, but the very

foundation of one-nation-state of Pakistan. East Pakistan was denied its majority as if East Pakistanis and West Pakistanis were two different peoples and so two different nations.

67. But the worst part of the tragic drama is that the East Pakistanis were in the majority being 44 in a house of 72 in the Constituent Assembly and Late Khwaja Najimuddin was the Governor General, Mr Tami-juddin, the speaker of the Constituent Assembly and Mr. Nurul Amin, the then Chief Minister of East Pakistan with solid Muslim League parliamentary party behind him ; and Mr. Liakat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan was elected from East Pakistan by East Pakistanis votes. By simple majority they could have delivered a pure and undiluted democratic constitution for the sovereign, independent democratic Islamic socialist state of Pakistan. But they did not do so for obvious reasons; that all the Government departments—the capital, the National Parliament, the head quarters of administration and all the three branches of the Army were located in West Pakistan and the West Pakistani leaders would not agree to any Constitution based on proportionate representation in fear of East Pakistan's majority. It is an irony that, nevertheless the East Pakistanis after having been stripped of every natural right are still being dubbed as provincialist and secessionist. Had the pure and simple democratic constitution been framed at the time, the subsequent provincial ill-feeling ; economic disparities, talk of domination of one zone by the other, constitutional anomalies, political unrest and above all the palace clique against democracy on national and international scale leading to the establishment of the permanent rule of the civil servants, both in the administration and political fields, would not have the chance of raising their ugly heads.

But by bad luck, God destined her for the different path.

68. The primary and the supreme duty of the Constituent Assembly was to frame the constitution for the country, but instead, they strained every nerve to prolong the constitution making, by releasing reports after reports on basic principles of the constitution and having endless and useless talks thereon year after year—hatching various devices and contrivance of how to reduce East Pakistan's majority in the central Assembly by permutation and combination of seats allotted to the East Pakistan and West Pakistan in the proposed bicameral legislatures but very carefully maintaining ultimately the balance of the ratio of 50 : 50 between the two wings.

Besides, the more they could prolong the business of constitution—making the more they could prolong the life of the constituent Assembly and consequently, the political life of themselves. They had obvious advantages therefor. The Constitution Assembly was elected by the electors consisting of the then existing provincial Assembly members. So the members of the Constituent Assembly were elected by themselves and they retained membership of both the Constituent Assembly and the provincial Assembly, and majority of them were provided in political offices—either as ministers in the centre or in the provinces, parliamentary secretaries, Government Ambassadors and chairman of various autonomous bodies. So the Constituent Assembly, self-appointing and self-working at will, quite merrily went on without looking to the interest of constitution making. People, specially the conscious section of the young intelligentsia, so long lulled under the spell of Government propagandas of 'infant state', 'Islamic socialism', bogey of Indian aggression, jihad for Kashmir and Quid's

call of 'unity, faith and discipline', became restive and suspicious over the inordinate delay in constitution-making and started agitation from press and public platform. Muslim League, the only people's political organisation which brought Pakistan, was thrown out as turncoat and its name was occasionally used in state functions to glorify the persons in power through religious appeal. It was degenerated into a sarkari league being cut off completely from the Public. Opposition to the Government was deemed opposition to the state and a sedition against it. Only the opposition party the Awami League was thought as an unnecessary and unmitigated evil and its accredited leader, late H.S. Suhrawardy was branded as an Indian dog let loose by Jawaharlal Neheru of India by the then Prime Minister of Pakistan late Liakat Ali. Press and publicity were gagged by various restrictive laws. Thousand political workers and leaders were thrown into jail under Public Safety Act. Movement launched by students and public at large against the arbitrary imposition of Urdu as the only state language of Pakistan assumed disastrous proportion and momentum against the central Government itself, as it was thought the principal source and contrivance of exploitation of East Pakistan through the weak Government of East Pakistan—a mere powerless agent of the centre.

Injured sense of economic exploitation and political domination gave rise to the demand for political autonomy in East Pakistan. In the circumstances, in 1952 Mr. Liakat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan was shot dead in Rawalpindi in broad daylight in a public meeting and the murderer could go scot free.

69, Mr. Nazimuddin who became Governor General after Quidé's death, stepped down as Prime Minister and Golam Mohammad, a civil servant, became Governor

General of Pakistan. Henceforward slowly but assuredly the rule of civil service in the politics of Pakistan began to set in. Mr. Nazimuddin though he commanded majority in National Assembly was summarily dismissed in 1953 by Mr. Golam Mohammed and with him fell democracy as casualty for the first time in Pakistan. As a civil servant Golam Mohammad knew better than anybody else why the British coined a fateful clause in the 1935 Constitution, "Ministry shall serve during the pleasure" of the Governor General or the Governor as the case may be and he made frequent use of the same when it suited his purpose best. By Irony as ill luck would have it, the same clause clad with the same language was inserted in the Constitution of 1956 paving the way for dismissing illegally as many as a dozen of ministries both in the centre and the provinces before 1958.

Mohammed Ali, a Pakistani Ambassador in U. S. A. was brought in to replace Khwaja Nazimuddin. It is said that Mohammed Ali tried to release another so called B. P. report on Constitution. At this moment in the face of public agitation, a general election for provincial Assembly was declared in both East and West Pakistan, but not for the Central Assembly.

ELECTION OF 1954 AND UNITED FRONT IN EAST PAKISTAN

70. All the political opposition parties under the leadership of late Share-e-Bangla A. K. Fazlul Haque, late H. S. Suhrawardy and Moulana Bhasani combined on one platform, called the 'United Front' on the basis of 21 point programme which inter alia vouchsafed for a democratic constitution of a Federal type of parliamentary Government, provincial autonomy, Joint electorate, the status of Bengali as one of the two state languages etc.

The people of East Pakistan were enamoured so much by the programme that they were seized with election fever and without making any discrimination of individual merits and worthiness of the rival candidates, they enblock voted for United Front candidates, securing 302 out of 309 seats and defeating the ruling Muslim League party. Fazlul Haque formed the United Front ministry in East Pakistan as its Chief Minister. But as election was held of the Provincial Assembly alone and having dual membership the defeated candidates retained the membership of the Central Assembly, they joined hands in conspiracy to bring down the fall of the United Front Ministry in East Pakistan. The service of an American Press reporter Mr. Kalahan was procured in misrepresenting and distorting the Calcutta speech of Fazlul Haque who was branded as a traitor, interned at his home and his ministry was dissolved and sec 93 B (Governor's rule) was clamped on East Pakistan for 13 months.

71. The long neglected and frustrated people of East Pakistan saw in the dismissal of the United Front ministry a naked rule of domination of East Pakistan by West Pakistan, a direct insult and a punishment inflicted upon them for voting against the ruling party which, though defeated in East Pakistan, still ruled over the country through the Central Government. Invidious political game of 'divide and rule' initiated and most unscrupulously pursued by the Central Government in East Pakistan in order to dislodge the United Front Ministry and to distract the people will remain for ever a stigma in the political history of Pakistan and will serve a bitter lesson both to the enemies and the apologists of democracy in Pakistan. It only served to accelerate the already widening cleavage between

the people of East and West Pakistan. But the Muslim Bengal could never reconcile themselves to the savage insult inflicted on the octogenarian leader Shere-Bangla A. K. Fazlul Hoque. Not only the Muslim Bengal but the whole of Muslim India was indebted to this great leader for his selfless service of more than half a century in recognition of which he was honoured with the title of Shere-Bangla by the then Muslim India.

SHER-E-BANGLA A.K. FAZLUL HAQUE :—

72. One who would care to know the history of the resurgence of the Muslims of India in general and those of Bengal in particular will remember the name of Sher-e-Bangla A.K. Fazlul Haque with reverence and solemn gratitude. Being jettisoned from the axis of political power in 1757 and consequently from the economic, administrative and social privileges and rights in subsequent years, the Muslims of Bengal were being grinded in abject poverty under particular classes of landlords, money lenders and other social and economic privileged classes. Being deprived of economic, social, industrial, commercial, service and educational rights and privileges they could very well be exchanged with poverty, illiteracy, and all kinds of diseases. In this respect the conditions of the general masses of the Muslims of India were no better than the Bengali Muslims. It is Sher-e-Bangla who infused the spirit of self-consciousness, a sense of separate identity, rekindled life-force which was lost with the loss of kingdom and instilled hopes and aspirations in the moribund and self-forgotten Muslim mass of Bengal. It is he who awakened the Muslims of Bengal from eternal slumber and decadence through various agrarian, monetary, social and educational reforms. He was a born leader and not a leader of the ivory tower feeling for the people through esoteric sensation or poetic imagination. He was a leader made by himself



202143

for the distracted, helpless, soulless and self-consciousless community who was made a self-respectful, separate ideological and cultural identity by him. He was the real national leader of the people—a real people, a vast multitude who live in the country and he was a leader by self-renunciation, by self-denial—even by sacrificing his paternal homes and hearth for the cause of his people. He was the father of the Bengali nationalism and culture both in outward gait and spirit. It is he who taught the Bengalis to fight for political, economic and cultural emancipation and social rights. It is he who made the Bengalis rights-conscious, politics—conscious and infused in them a zeal, a national fervour, a character and a purpose for fighting against injustice, against inequities, against the cultural, economic, social, administrative exploitation and dominance of a ideologically separate minority—the Hindus.

For the first time he infused in them a purpose for living as true self-respectful human beings and as a community with glorious heritage. Wild fire of Bengali nationalism found its full and purposeful expression with uncontrollable force in the ultimate fight for the achievement of Pakistan, which had surpassed that of any other province of British India. If Muslim Bengal could be personified, then it is he and he alone was the 'Muslim Bengal'. Above all it is he who moved the famous Lahore Resolution for Pakistan in 1940. And at the fag end of his mortal life he was rewarded with the title of a "traitor" out of sheer political vendetta by those who had no connection with Pakistan movement nor with the people, and who only through palace clique and conspiracy got into power and maintained it with similar questionable methods. Only few months after this tragic episode, the ruling clique atoned their sins by appointing this "Traitor" as the

interior minister of Pakistan and later on as a governor of East Pakistan. Oh! what a shame and a tragedy for the Government and a nation of 100 million people.

73. At this fateful juncture an evil star from Civil—cum—Military service appeared on the political horizons of Pakistan like a meteor with ominous future consequences, which very soon turned the course of political destiny of Pakistan. He was Iskander Ali Mirza, a defence secretary of Pakistan who was appointed as Governor of East Pakistan and he began his governorship by putting more than a thousand political leaders and workers in jail.

74. Political uncertainty, general frustration and great unrest and confusion prevailed in the country which once again stood on the parting of ways of history—one way leading to democracy with dim ray of hope, and the other leading to autocracy for which the path was being made wide open and clear for several years clandestinely.

But at this stage the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was dissolved by order of Governor General Golam Mohammad. Tamijuddin Khan, speaker of the said Assembly brought a case against this illegal dissolution and the Sind High Court declared the dissolution as ultravires of the Constitution, and the Pakistan Government preferred an appeal to the Supreme Court of Pakistan against this order, and which way her destiny would take turn depended virtually on the judgement the Supreme Court would deliver.

75. At this fateful moment however God smiled, better sense prevailed in the nervous coterie that wielded all powers in Pakistan, who were themselves in a fix and turned to the man of the hour, the late lamented H. S. Suhrawardy, who was recuperating in Switzerland at the moment, to save the country from inevitable

political and constitutional catastrophe. Suhrawardy, on express understandings given by the ruling junta that a new Constituent Assembly would be brought into being immediately to frame a Constitution at an earlier possible time and, that Sec. 93 would be withdrawn and United Front ministry restored in East Pakistan, and immediately general election under the new Constitution in both the Centre and the provinces would be held, accepted the ministry of law under Mohammad Ali of Bogra. He gave a undertaking to the Supreme Court that a new Constituent Assembly would be constituted immediately and got a decree to that effect.

76, Another era for trial of democracy began in Pakistan. Second Constituent Assembly was elected again by the same existing Provincial Assembly members and came into existence in 1955. The basis of the 1956 Constitution was settled by agreement between the political leaders of the East and West Pakistan in a spirit of compromise of give and take. The terms of agreement were (i) Federal and Presidential-cum-Parliamentary form of Government elected on universal adult franchise and by direct election, (ii) one unit consisting of 4 provinces of West Pakistan, (iii) provincial autonomy (iv) Parity between two wings of Pakistan in representation in the Federal parliament and also in services both civil and military, and economic and financial interests under the federal Government. (v) that both Urdu and Bangali shall be the state language of Pakistan. (vi) Joint electorate in Pakistan without reservation of seats for any Community. For the successful working of democracy a balance between constitutional authority and political authority was maintained very carefully in the Constitution by retaining two posts, one of the President, representing and retaining constitutional powers

and the other of Prime Minister, representing and retaining political powers.

Regard being had to the geographical distance between the two wings of Pakistan and its consequent geo-political tensions, a convention was agreed upon to give to the two regions equal share in political powers and privileges of the Central Government, and consistent with this convention of equally sharing central powers, a parliamentary form of Government was accepted with the two offices of President and Prime Minister, and it was decided that if one of the two offices was filled up by one zone the other one would go to the other zone. It is an irony that only 10 years back M. A. Jinnah fought for parity in the Interim Government of 1946 against the numerical majority of the Hindu and now, East Pakistan, a majority province in Pakistan with her majority reduced arbitrarily, is fighting for parity against the minority province within Pakistan itself.

77. First Constitution of Pakistan was passed and accepted on 23rd March, 1956. Justifiability of fundamental right, freedom of press and expression, adult franchise, direct election Parliamentary democracy, responsible legislature and the cabinet headed by Prime Minister, and President as constitutional head were some of the salient features of the Constitution. Country did not get a constitution for nine years till parity in representation was agreed upon. But though she luckily got a Constitution at the cost of East Pakistan, she never got a chance to elect her Government under it. Democracy was never practised in Pakistan. People in vain clamoured for general election, but this time after the promulgation of the new Constitution demand for election seemed irresistible.

78, But palace clique of the civil servants triumphed again over the people. Iskander Mirza and Chaudhury Mohammad Ali, another civil servant became President and Prime Minister respectively under the new Constitution in 1956. Both were from West Pakistan and at the first chance they broke the convention very recently agreed upon. Thus by a unique combination of policy of unbounded perfidy committed by limitless lavishness of promises and equal amount of faithlessness in execution and by one of the strangest freaks of fortune ever recorded in human history, did the persecutors of the freedom fighters usurp the seat of the political power, and the champions of the colonial powers became the custodians and protectors of the freedom, liberty and democracy of Pakistan. And the mute unconscious mass took very little notice of the political drama taking place in the capital, and some of the greedy, fortune hunters so-called politicians and leaders provided the whole body of spectators in the gallery with their tongues in the chicks full of flattery and congratulations, expecting political windfalls any moment. They are still fighting the same political battle of the politicians before 1958. The East Pakistanis were sadly disillusioned, their lamentation knew no bounds, not only their number was reduced, their political right to either of the two top Federal offices under the convention was trampled down too. But Choudhury Mohammad Ali had to resign after few months. H. S. Suhrawardy with his Awami League party with 11 followers in a house of 80 members became Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1956. Though West Pakistani leaders, specially those of the Punjab under the leadership of the President himself formed one unit with the merger of the four former provinces of West Pakistan and Suhrawardy wanted to give a fair trial to the scheme, they went against his policy on the one unit and without giving him the chance of

facing the Parliament for which he made repeated constitutional demands, the President unconstitutionally compelled him to resign. It is an irony that these very rulers of West Pakistan now abuse East Pakistanis for breaking one unit.

79. Democracy and constitution, both became the first casualties under 1956 Constitution. Iskander Mirza made frequent use without any constitutional scruple the fatal clause in the Constitution which hung as a 'Democles sword, on every ministry, "The minister shall serve during the pleasure of the President" and dismissed ministries after ministries both in the Centre and the provinces at his sweet will. After Suhrawardy, Chundrigar, a Muslim League Leader, stepped in as Prime Minister and continued for 57 days only. At this stage another heinous attempt was made to divide East Pakistan politically by introducing separate electorate, though the party in power made a coalition ministry in the Centre with the minorities of East Pakistan. Then Firoz Khan Noon became Prime Minister in 1957. Awami League made a coalition with him on the express understanding that on 15th February, 1959 first general election under the Constitution must be held in both the Central and the Provincial Assemblies at a time. Supreme Court's Chief Justice Mr. Munir was appointed as a delimitation commissioner and he finished delimitation of constituencies in recorded time. Voters list was prepared and printed. Electoral issue was once for all decided, Separate electorate for West Pakistan and joint electorate for East Pakistan. All the arrangements for holding first general election under the Constitution was complete, But again the central coterie clique of some civil servants under the leadership of the President got alert and nervous at the possible result of the general election, especially they were haunted

by the memory of 1954 election result. In the middle of the budget session of East Pakistan in 1958, the Awami League Ministry of Mr. Ataur Rahman was dismissed unconstitutionally though he enjoyed majority in the house. The House was prorogued sine die, so that failure to pass budget in time would provide a lever for something more ominous which waited for the country.

Suhrawardy's timely interference saved the situation. Assembly was summoned and after getting majority vote in the house Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan's ministry was reinstated and budget passed. But this only beferred for some time and could not avoid the inevitable which was a settled fact. There was a trouble in the East Pakistan Assembly on the issue of the election of the Speaker and a deputy Speaker succumbed to his injury after few days. This was taken as the primary cause and a pretext for the promulgation of Martial Law by Iskander Mirza in Pakistan on 8th October, 1958 after 18 days of the incidence and 12 days of the prorogation of the Assembly.

80. Some people argued not without reason and common sense that (a) if incidence in the Assembly was the primary cause for the promulgation of Maritial Law then why it came after 18 days of the incidence, (2) For the crime of the East Pakistan Assembly why Martial Law all over Pakistan, Sec. 193 (Governor's-rule) was sufficient for East Pakistan; (3) During communal trouble in 1952 at Lahore, Martial Law was promulgated in the Punjab Province alone, why it was not done all over Pakistan (4) The Prime Minister Liakat Ali Khan was shot dead in broad daylight at Rawalpindi, but why Martial Law was not promulgated in Pakistan then. (5) Immediately after the promulgation why the case connected with the incidence was with-

drawn, (6) Dr. Khan Sb. Chief Minister of West Pakistan was murdered but no Martial Law was proclaimed within West Pakistan or the whole of Pakistan. These are the few pertinent questions which haunt the public mind and they reasonably infer that main reason may be other than the incidence which was only used as a mere cloak.

81. Under the Martial Law Regime, the Constitution of 1956, which was the product of 9 years hectic bargain and labour and the usefulness of which was never tested through general election, was abrogated by a stroke of pen. Both the ministries in the central and the provinces together with their Assemblies were dissolved.

General Ayub Khan, then C-in-C, was appointed the Chief Martial Law administrator. But as ill luck would have it, the architect of the Martial Law, Iskander Mirza, the then President of Pakistan was elbowed out of power and driven out of the country on the 27th of October, 1958—the first victim of the abrogation of the Constitution, and General Ayub Khan became the sole arbiter of the nation. Certain civil officials were screened out of service on summary administrative proceedings. Politicians were tried under the EBDO ordinance which did not provide any legal defence. They were declared disqualified for politics upto Dec 1966. Others who exercised option provided in the law, voluntarily retired from politics for the said period. Capital was shifted from Karachi to Rawalpindi and Karachi, so long administered by the Federal Government as Federal territory, was tacked with West Pakistan as part of the latter's territory much to the financial and revenue loss of East Pakistan. Karachi was built as capital with ports and innumerable industries at enormous cost,—the major portion of which was borne by East Pakistan.

The regime with honest intention introduced Land reforms in West Pakistan. Feudalism in West Pakistan was an anachronism of age and potential source of much of the economic, political, social and constitutional maladies from which West Pakistan masses were suffering. And because the political balances of all Pakistan politics were held by the West Pakistani politicians who were mostly feudal landlords with medieval reactionary ideas and outlooks and were definitely diehard anti-people and anti-democratic, and had, besides, advantage of the location of capital in West Pakistan, East Pakistan too was suffering from its degenerating and deadening impact. However, the reform could not make much headway as ceiling was too high and thanks to the civil officials who as the off-springs of the same system were themselves interested in the retention of the feudal system, and with their active help the landlords could transfer much of their surplus fertile lands to their relations and henchmen in benami transaction. It is said that out of 2.3 million acres acquired, 0.7 million acres were uncultivable barren wastes.

82. A constitution commission was set up with Mr. Shahabuddin, ex-Chief Justice of Pakistan as chairman which submitted recommendations for democratic parliamentary form of Government to be elected by adult franchise and by direct election. But Ayub Khan turned down the recommendations of the commission set up by himself and by promulgation introduced a Constitution of his own in Pakistan in 1962. This is Pakistan's 2nd Constitution which provided a form of Government which though presidential in form and appearance is neither presidential nor parliamentary in essence and fact. There is no responsible Chief executive or cabinet or the legislature in the system. 'Basic Democracy', a newly invented system which will be discussed in deta-

ils in chapter (iv) has been made the basis of his Constitution and the Government. people have been stripped of their birth right—the right of political franchise. Civil and political fundamental rights were withdrawn from the orbit of the Justiciability of the court of law. The convention, based on the principles that the two main Federal political offices of the President and the Prime minister shall belong to the two wings and not to one wing alone to maintain political balance by sharing central powers equally, was dropped once for all with disastrous future consequences. Parity was enforced in the representation in the centre alone to reduce the East Pakistani majority, but its enforcement in economic and financial matters, administrative services, armed forces under the Federal Government was made conditional on “as far as possible” as its constitutional clause, Arts 6 and 16 enjoin, “Parity ... as far as possible be achieved”, which is a marked departure from the mandatory provision of the Constitution of 1956 which said in clause (d) of Art. 28,..... “The state shall endeavour”.

83, CONCLUSION :— A critical study of the constitutional and political developments and the experiments done right from 1947 to 1962 will show that (a) the principle of separate one nationhood consisting of Muslim population of the British India on the basis of which India was sought to be partitioned and was finally partitioned, was never followed in Pakistan in as much as democracy with its principle of majority rule in fear of East Pakistan's majority was never practised in Pakistan, (2) that by all sorts of endeavours and constitutional manoeuvres, East Pakistan's majority has been reduced—thus proving and giving a conclusive idea that East Pakistanis and West Pakistanis are two different peoples and not one nation. (3) That democracy, in fear

of East Pakistan's majority rule, was never given a fair play in Pakistan, as not a single general election on adult franchise was ever held to the central Assembly and the Central Government all throughout remained unrepresentative of the people. (4) That political balance between East Pakistan and West Pakistan under the present Constitution by abolishing the post of Prime minister and the parliamentary form of Government, has been seriously disturbed, and by having concentrated all the administrative, financial, political, Economic, military powers and head offices of the Central Government in West Pakistan, and without giving East Pakistan equal share of political powers of the Centre, a reasonable sense of apprehension and a bitter experience of reality have both helped the growth in the mind of the East Pakistanis of a suspicion that East Pakistan is a virtual colony under the domination of West Pakistan, (5) that the result of the 1954 election of East Pakistan served as a barometre and a ground for depriving the whole of population of Pakistan of their birth right of political franchise and, as such democracy has been butchered. These main causes, among others, caused dissatisfaction among the East Pakistanis and provided basic ground and forces behind the demand of the political, administrative and economic autonomy or self-determination for East Pakistan.

(6) Since the death of Liakat Ali, the parliamentary history of the country presents a dismal and confused drama of ministers coming to the power without powers and descending to the political wilderness and limbo without any regret at the sweet will of the Head of the state. Explanations of this anomaly are to be found in the colossal political ignorance and general frustration of the vast mute masses and in the limitless greed and fortune hunting of a class of Pseudo politicians. Neither

the people nor their leaders and administrators could rise to the position. Greatness was thrust on them by Providence for which neither the people nor their leaders were worthy. The leaders and politicians were lost in their passion for greed, rivalry, mutual jealousy, ambition and of lust for power. All these are but the symptoms of socio-political diseases which lurk in the absence of any definite philosophy for the state and the nation and consequently stemming from lack of self sacrifice, dedicated political Leadership with genuine feeling for the poor masses and placing self above the supreme interests of the nation and the state. Politics has been treated not as an art for the balanced and harmonious development of the society as a whole but as a ladder for self-aggrandisement at the cost of the society and humanity.

HUSSAIN SAHEED SUHRAWARDY

84. History is never made of impersonal forces—much less the building of a nation like Pakistan. The history of Pakistan is a history of thousand told and untold, known and unknown stories which will remain incomplete without making any revered reference to the kind and grateful memories of the late lamented H. S. Suhrawardy—one of the top architects and a dedicated great soul for the achievement of Pakistan—and more so, for the great cause for which Pakistan itself stood—poor democracy.

History is not deplete with instances where the greatest heroes and victims of circumstances in a nation are the least honoured and recognised persons during their life time, but Saheed Suhrawardy is such a historical figure who commanded spontaneous recognition from both his friends and political foes, and that too both before and after his death. He lived for a cause and died for a still nobler cause, and at the cost of

his life he has left a philosophy of political life—a goal for the posterity, a trail of glory. Beyond, birds, beasts and basic democrats can tear a thousand drums and devour thousand chickens, but surely will not be able to efface his undying memory which will be restored to its evershining pristine glory so long a single votery of liberty and freedom will survive in Pakistan. In deed, a nation which does not know to remember and revere its past leaders finds its own place in the darkness of the forgetful past.

85. Democracy and plutocracy are two strange bed-fellows, and yet upto the late forties of the century there was a happy blending of the two forces in the country for the fight of the cause of freedom. Born in an aristocratic family with a tradition of fight for the decadent nation, he brought down the "white house" to the level of the "log cabin". It was Sher-e-Bangla who infused a spirit self-consciousness and a free will in to the benumbed mass of Muslim Bengal and in doing so, he, under compulsion and consistent with the political and social situations of the time, had to adopt bye-ways and methods which sometimes seemed outwardly repulsive to moral susceptibilities and antagonistic to the overall interests of the nation—ends being supreme to him than the means. But it was Saheed Suhrawardy who gave full expression to this consciousness and free will by galvanising the younger generation with the idea that these were attainable only in a free state and successfully led the freedom struggle to the achievement of Pakistan, and, in doing so, no sacrifice seemed too big for him, and ends and means meant the same thing to him.

He knew that path of politics was full of shovels and thorns and not a bed of roses, but he never adopted bye-ways of mean and foul games, rather he

steered clear the path of thorns with his unthinkable physical and mental powers and will—force.

86. In the magic land of Pakistan, facts are more stranger than fictions, and only the future historians can give verdict on the proper assessment of the sacrifices and contributions of this great leader towards the achievement of Pakistan. We can only touch the outer fringe of it. It was he who organised the Khilafat movement in Bengal and later on rallied the entire Muslim masses of Bengal under the banner of the then Muslim League. It was he who led the fateful election campaign of 1946 and secured 97% votes for Pakistan and formed the only Muslim League ministry in Muslim India. It was he who led 'direct action' day celebration in Calcutta and saved the Muslims from Calcutta and Behar carnage. The day Pakistan was declared, many leaders fled from Calcutta and other parts of India leaving the unfortunate Muslims of India to their fate. It was Saheed who, ignoring the lucrative political offices offered by Quide-Azam himself, stayed back in Calcutta and risking his life every moment tried to save the helpless Muslims in active collaboration with the great Gandhi.

87. Sprung up from a family of saint, it was his mission to sanctify politics, though born in an aristocratic family of learning and culture, and himself a scholar and an aristocrat he never believed that politics were an esoteric thing, an art and a perquisite for the pedigree. To him as weal of the people was the object of his politics, so also people was the ultimate source of his political power. Sincerity of purpose based on this principle of politics distinguished both his individual character in dealing with the public and his political career dealing with public administration for 50 years. To achieve this end of public politics he was always

the leader, the real leader to lead and not to be led. Even if necessary, he would risk his personal reputation and ride roughshod over a decision of his party whom he would carry with him ultimately to achieve this objective. This policy of principle made him the man of the hour—saviour of the nation in crisis, a national debt paid by jettisoning him away once the crisis was over. Be it in political office, in the court of law, or before the public, he was immaculate in dress, dignified in manner and always amenable to reason.

This policy of principle sometimes called for supreme sacrifice from him in subordinating his personal gain and reputation to the supreme interest and needs of the country. This policy of self abnegation to national cause actuated him to accept the post of a law minister under Mohammad Ali of Bonga who was a mere dwarf and a political disciple of him whom he picked and brought up literally from the dust. To his critics he replied "country is starving of a Constitution and not of a Prime Minister or ministers". In fact it is he who, as a farsighted statesman, realised the ultimate end to which the fate of the country was being dragged by a coterie of power. Again this very policy prompted him to accept parity and make East Pakistan agree to the acceptance of it in the larger interest of the nation. Gifted with breadth of vision, large heartedness and outlook required of a statesman, he never compromised with expediency, dishonesty and unfair means for personal gains. His political dealings were all throughout straight and above board. His political weapon was the sword of honesty, plain thought, reason and above all the love for the poor masses and the country; and not the dagger of palace clique, conspiracy, perfidy which

characterised most of the politicians of the day in power. He believed that power, attained through clique, conspiracy, unholy alliance, and political manoeuvres, could only be retained through similar methods and at the cost of national values only. In politics his appeal was direct to the people who were the democracy itself and the ultimate source of political and Governmental authorities in the state. He believed in the people and so in undiluted democracy. He believed that self consciousness and free will of a nation could find full expression only in the unfettered and free working of democratic form of Government which must take universal adult franchise and free unfettered exercise of their will as the basis of its authority. He believed as essential pre-requisites for proper functioning of democracy in the rule of law and the independence of judiciary and the independent and free functioning of responsible opposition political parties. He was the father of opposition parties in Pakistan. To him strength of a democratic Government lies in the strength and in the proper functioning of the opposition parties. While in power he was the best and while in the opposition he was the super best. He was *one of the best parliamentarians of the world.*

88. Though persistently democracy was being butchered by unconstitutional means in Pakistan during his time, he never lost faith in constitutional politics and had fought against it both from the public platform and in the court of laws. His suffering knew no bounds for the great cause of democracy and justice for which he shed the last drop of his blood, and the memory of his sacrifice will serve forever as a consolation prize and as a beacon light to the sufferers for the great cause of the present generation and their posterity, as Edmund Burk had rightly said that "a people will never look forward to posterity who never

look backward to ancestors", Great people are generally the product of occasions and circumstances. But he never believed in opportunism. It is rather he who created occasions and circumstances which were fully exploited by others to their own advantages. Many picked up political fortunes with his association and favour. His character of forbearance, magnanimity, generosity and large heartedness have more often than not been exploited by both his friends, followers and foes for their personal gains and sometimes to the great detriment of the national cause and political decency.

89. His charity too knew no bounds without any discrimination between foe and friend, high and low. He, by strength of character and nobility of mind, was a national institution. Flattery of friends, criticism of the opposition or censure of the malignant carried the same weight with him. The gravest events could hardly disturb the serenity of his face and mind. He could receive the news of the most important political victories or personal gain without expressing the least symptom of overjoys as easily as he received the news of the gravest reverses of fortune without betraying the slightest uneasiness. Such was his strength of character and extraordinary mental capacity to absorb shocks.

90. From its very inception, the politics of Pakistan is marked by intolerance, personal vituperation and lack of minimum decorum of public life. But saheed Suhrawardy all through out his public and private life maintained the magnanimity of his heart, forbearance and nobility of mind befitting a great leader of his stature and commensurate with his high birth and nobility. Even under gravest provocation coming from no less the person than the Prime Minister of Pakistan abusing him as a 'traitor and an Indian dog let loose by Jewaharlal', he remained calm and serenity of his mind was never disturbed, nor this could

distract him for a moment from discharging his moral and political duty to the nation. He had equal respect and admiration for the political leaders and workers, belong they to his own party or to that of his opponents. He with religious scruples observed the principles of Islam not to speak ill of dead persons and not even during life time behind the back. Be it in politics or in legal profession he never discriminated between a foe and a friend. Even in power he equally treated the men of his own party and men of the opposing party,

World has seen many benevolent and able administrators but not a marathon organiser of political party and a hard working political worker and a leader like him. Though himself a genius, a scholar, and an aristocrat, he could mix with the commoner, the humble mass or the village rusties, ill fed, ill clad, illiterate workers with as much easiness as with the people of the high born society. As a real leader of the people he knew the pulse of their mind so much so that even before 1954 election he predicted that Muslim League would get only 9 seats and it got exactly 9 seats. He knew workers almost by name—such was his extraordinary memory. His love for the people and specially for the political workers was almost personal and filial, it so happened once that some political workers lost ways in a desert of Beluchistan and were left behind and their leader Saheed Suhrawady passed the whole night strolling in the veranda without taking any food. During hectic days of politics and specially during election days, he could address mammoth meetings even half a dozen in a day and that too for months together. Such a marathon worker he was that he could work for hours together sitting from the same place and used to sleep less than 3 hours a day. Such was the heavy rush of people and workers all the day and

night that he had to do lot of his job of writing in his bath room. But when in political office he was a different man—not a political leader of this party or that party but a national leader and a Prime Minister worth the name for the state. His very presence, either in office or in the lobby or in the public gathering, inspired simultaneously awe, regard and self-discipline. Whatever he spoke, he spoke with confidence. He had mastery both over his subject and his language, and his advocacy was superb. While in office no officer dared to furnish him with prepared notes for his signature. Nevertheless he knew every good and able officer by name and admired them in public for their initiative, honesty and efficiency. He always kept administration far above the corrupting concerns of politics. But as an able hardworking administrator, an organiser of new departments and an initiator of new reforms or ideas in administrative set-ups and specially in emergency and national crisis he was at his super best.

91. It is he who, as Prime Minister, gave new life, direction, vigour and a different philosophy to foreign policy of Pakistan. It is he who restored good relation of Pakistan with the Eastern Block, specially the Chinese Republic, but at the same time without provoking the Western block. It is he who organised the refugee department and took definite policy for their rehabilitation. It is he who raised the shelved irrigation canal problems of Punjab with India and gave definite shape which ultimately culminated in water treaty with India.

It is during his time that the two peoples of the two wings of Pakistan for the first time thought of one people. Indeed, after the death of Quid-e-Azam, no leader could command equal willing allegiance, love, regard and public confidence from both the wings as

he did. As a national leader it was he who could rightly be thought as the symbol of one nation—a real bridge and a bond of National unity between the two wings. Though not elected by the people direct as a Prime Minister for the first time he effected real union between the people and the Government and between the people and their leaders of the two wings. In his death the nation has lost a national institution—a national leader of the two wings. Much of the present misunderstandings between the two wings and constitutional anomalies could have been avoided had he been alive.

92. Future historians will say if it is he who was unfortunate for being deprived of the right of serving the people of Pakistan or the people and the state of Pakistan have themselves been unfortunate and looser being deprived of the sincere service and people's leadership of Saheed Suhrawardy. But it is an axiomatic truth that if a man of his versatile genius with vast, rich and rare administrative experiences of public offices for years, magnanimity of heart, nobility of mind, and an out and out public leader having unflinching confidence in the public and democracy, became the first Prime Minister of Pakistan the history and the fate of the people and the state would have been different.

93. And such a leader, whose legal acumen and powerful advocacy could bring thousands of money for him in the court of law, was tried under EBDQ for misuse of power and corruption and declared disqualified for public office. He died at Beirut, of a broken heart. This is the way the nation was compelled to pay its debt of gratitude to one of the greatest sons of the nation whose life was a dedicated mission for the people.

CHAPTER III REGIONAL AUTONOMY

f East Pakistan is now

94. The political atmosphere of autonomy and yet the surcharged with the demand of by all and sundry and subject is the least understood. Ported by those who the most misrepresented and distantis are demanding are in power. The East Pakisn of Pakistan and yet autonomy since the very inceptio idea, explanation or at no time an all-comprehensive have ever been given definite conception of autonomy of the West Pakistanis to the full comprehension either repugnant to the term who are the most sensitive and East Pakistanis who 'autonomy' or to a section of conservative, but whose are politically less conscious and of ignorance or insp- occasional statements issued out ur or against autonomy. pired by self-advertisement in favormade the matter more instead of doing any good, has g. Politicians of East complex, confusing and misleadinriously when they face Pakistan talk of autonomy more se' power, but when they political landslide and are out ofv try to temporise the come to power they some howith the political power people's demand of autonomy wher wing of Pakistan, as they share with the people of the otical power alone. Con- if autonomy means sharing of politlers and administrators sequently, the West Pakistani leacion as the political pow- who are now in advantageous positts since the beginning of ers had always been in their handed interests have a stake Pakistan and whose whole vestof the present political, in the scrupulous maintenance c

administrative and economic set-up of Pakistan, had been accustomed to look upon the 'demand' with chronic suspicion as a lever, a political contrivance of East Pakistan's politicians to dislodge them from power. They think that the demand of autonomy is nothing more than the political shibboleth, a political machination through which the frustrated politicians of East Pakistan want to rehabilitate themselves in politics once again in independent East Pakistan, separated from West Pakistan, by inciting and exploiting the sentiment and hate of the East Pakistani people against West Pakistanis, and as such, it is a move for secession from Pakistan engineered by 'disruptionists, and secessionists. There are some disinterested academic thinkers and scholars in East Pakistan who look upon the term 'autonomy' purely from the economist's point of view and have issued series of statement and written articles on the true conception of autonomy and some have even been laurelled with political fortunes for vouchsafing the cause of autonomy for East Pakistan, or who knows, for diversion from the issue. But alas! the real misfortune of East Pakistan is that once they get in power they clean forget the poor autonomy. Their aesthetic sense of scholasticism overpowered by enlightened self-interest finds full expression more in showing loyalty to the salt than to the ladder—the cause of autonomy that pushed them up. The ultimate result has been that political fate of Pakistan has been most gloomy and the true essence and meaning of zonal autonomy for East Pakistan, especially on geographical consideration have either been not understood wilfully by those who are in power having vested interest in the present set-up of things, or have been over emphasised by those who have more of political motives up in their sleeves. It has now been reduced

to a tug of war between the people who are now in power and the politicians of East Pakistan.

95. One is not to go too far to discover the true meaning of autonomy in East Pakistan, if one only takes care to see the centuries-old medieval postures of the rural areas of East Pakistan where ninety percent people live. If he cares to see the rack-rented, hollow chicked, emaciated and poverty stricken illiterate human frailties in the rural and slum areas of the urbans of East Pakistan, he can well understand the real meaning of autonomy. To an average East Pakistani autonomy means something more than political power—it is to them an embodiment of human hopes, aspirations, an urge to live as an honest and modest normal human being in a civilised well-fare state, free from any political, economic, financial and social exploitations either of non Bengalees or their Bengali local agents. Autonomy to them is both a philosophy and a method of salvation from limitless, fathomless poverty, illiteracy, diseases and other physical, social and mental disabilities, which were not only the legacies of the Centuries-old colonial rule of exploitation, but are also the inevitable cumulative results of the twenty years of exploitation inaugurated and pursued systematically under the constitutional and economic set-ups in the name of one—state, one centralised government, to the detriment of the over-all interest of East Pakistan where majority of Pakistanis live. As such autonomy, in its totality of meaning in the present context of things in Pakistan, means simply the decentralisation and redistribution of political economic, fiscal, financial and administrative powers hitherto owned and exercised by the Central Govt. of Pakistan under the present Constitution in the name of a strong centre, between the centre on the one hand and the two wings of Pakistan on the other. In the

political sphere, autonomy means self-determination—that East Pakistanis will govern East Pakistan through a cabinet responsible to the people through their elected legislature where the Governor will be a mere constitutional figurehead to honour and enforce constitutional commitments and provisions, and not by an appointed Governor, be he a Bengali or a non-Bengali, who are at present not only governing constitutionally, but ruling politically and administratively without either being responsible to the non-responsible legislature or to the disenfranchised people of East Pakistan direct. In the present context, the impression is that in the absence of political autonomy, East Pakistan is merely an administrative unit and virtually a colony of the West Pakistan. Before partition she was administered from White Hall in Great Britain and now she is ruled from Rawalpindi. It makes no difference to an East Pakistani. In the Economic sphere, the East Pakistani, by autonomy, means that self-determining constitutional, political, administrative, fiscal and financial powers with which they can both formulate and execute economic and financial development plans and policies without any hindrance or interference whatsoever from the centre by the autonomous bodies under the East Pakistan Government with a view to both developing to the utmost the natural resources of East Pakistan hitherto neglected by the centre and to the rational distribution of the benefits of development among the people at large to ameliorate their economic lots.

96. Unfortunately, the two wings of Pakistan are separated physically by alien territories, and geo-physical and geo-political considerations have made the demand for autonomy most logical, irresistible and politically and administratively the only possible solution of the present political impasse and no sensible person who has at

heart the well-fare of Pakistan at large and that of East Pakistan in particular can honestly and wilfully shut his eyes to the grim realities of facts that are so demonstratively and palpably self-evident. It is not a tirade of political vendettas or vengeance or jealousies directed on political motive against any section of people of a particular zone or against any regime, but against the very system now obtaining in Pakistan's constitutional set-ups. *Had the present position been just the reverse with the central capital located in East Pakistan and the East Pakistanis were in over-all political control of Pakistan, as the West Pakistanis are now, the same result would have been precipitated and repeated under the present systems in West Pakistan too, and the West Pakistanis would have clamoured possibly with more vigour and vengeance for zonal autonomy for West Pakistan as the East Pakistanis are now doing. It is both a subjective and an objective feeling, without which the nation and the state of Pakistan as they are constituted and situated, cannot hold on for long under the natural stress and strain of time.*

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BACK GROUNDS OF EAST PAKISTAN BEFORE PARTITION.

97. With the fall of political power from their hands in 1757, fortune had left the people of Muslim Bengal. Ever since that political landslide they had been systematically stripped of political, administrative, and economic powers and privileges and had been reduced to 'tillers of land only' and 'hiewers of wood and drawers of water'. They were deprived of the benefits of trade, commerce, business, government services and other economic pursuits. As the agricultural economy of the province depended on the vagaries of nature, and on the over-all imperial policies of supplying raw materials at cheap rates to the industries of Great Britain, both natural calamities and colonial exploitation had reduced

Sub-continent and who are still their political leaders and are faithfully exploiting them politically and economically. The masses of Bengal under the leadership of highly educated and conscious middle class had fought against the political economic, administrative and commercial hegemony of the ruling Hindus. Under this socio-political-economic circumstances, when the clarion call for the fateful struggle for home-land came to the Indian Muslims from the leaders it caught the ready-made imagination of the people. By freedom for the country they thought their salvation from poverty and other man-made disabilities from which they were suffering under the alien rule since 1757.

POST PARTITION DISILLUSION.

98. But after partition the peasant people of East Pakistan who constituted 95% of the population were thoroughly disillusioned. East Pakistan got an area of 55,146 square miles as against West Pakistan's 3,10,310 square miles, and population of more than 55 millions against West Pakistan's 45 millions. East Pakistan had 1100 people per square mile on average, while West Pakistan had only 100.

In some districts East Pakistan has a density of population of 1600 to 2100 per square mile. So far arable land is concerned, she has only $\frac{1}{2}$ acre per head, on the other hand West Pakistan has vast virgin land for cultivation and also canal irrigation system existing long before partition. Considering this relative position of natural advantages and disadvantages, Mr. Collin Clark, an Austrian Economist whose services were commissioned by the then Government of Pakistan, advised and recommended in 1952 that agricultural development on scientific line should be pursued in West Pakistan regard being had to the vast potentialities and natural

Hardly she could raise a full crop in any year and she got hardly an economic price for what she raised. Khulna lost 15,000 souls in famine in 1950. After partition her credit institutions crumbled down totally, and out of 31905 Co-Operative societies 24,675 went into liquidation. Agricultural debts mounted on by leaps and bounds and no Government measures were taken to help the poor agriculturists. On the other hand, to augment the dwindling public finance of East Pakistan taxes after taxes were imposed and increased on the agriculturists without giving due regard to their capacity to pay. As a result, innumerable certificate cases have been started against them which exceeded 13 lacks in North Bengal alone. In the educational sector the picture was more sombre. It only created more wants and expectations than what could be catered. It created further unemployment and the unemployed young disgruntled intelligentsia were likely to fall an easy prey to the dogmas of socialism and communism. With the establishment of Pakistan, the central Government had centralised all the political, economic, financial and administrative powers of the State of Pakistan in the one wing only in West Pakistan. 95% central revenue has been spent in West Pakistan, creating new jobs, economic ventures, development of infra-structures and on the Federal Capital. With the setting up of central Capital at Karachi, all the economic activities were centered round the capital. Trade, commerce, export-import industries, business centres, financial houses, every thing were concentrated in Karachi. Karachi occupied the place of Calcutta to rule East Pakistan not only politically but to exploit her economically. Dacca was reduced to a mere administrative unit, a mere police out-post to maintain law and order. In one word after partition the lot of the people of

of agriculture with industry was effected in East Pakistan, she had to depend on the international market for the sale of her raw materials like jute which is the only cash crop, the main stay of East Pakistan's economy and as such she got as less a price as possible. On the other hand her surplus labour, both seasonal and whole time could not be absorbed any where in the absence of any industry. But her limited land could no longer contain her growing population, and as a result, unemployment with limitless poverty increased in geometric mean. Survey made by the Central Statistical Institute (1963-64) shows that though East Pakistan has to feed more population, 77% of her population are engaged in agriculture, 6% in manufacture, 8% in service and 10% in other economic activities; while in West Pakistan 60% are engaged in agriculture, 14% in manufacture, 13% in other economic activities. While agricultural labour force in West Pakistan grew by 15'5% during 1951-61, it grew in East Pakistan by 33'8%; while the growth of non-agricultural manpower was 55'1% in West Pakistan it was only 16'7% in East Pakistan. This comparative study only indicates the extent of the industrial and economic growth of West Pakistan in comparison with the meagre growth of East Pakistan. East Pakistan inherited land rich in quality in the World. She produced surplus food for her population and her production of jute constituted 70% of the world jute production and 100% of good varieties. On East Pakistan's jute depended the national economy of Pakistan which fetched for her 68% of her total foreign exchange. Economically it was East Pakistan and not West Pakistan which was a viable state from the very birth of Pakistan. But due to lack of proper planning and scientific irrigation and marketing facilities, her rich paddy and jute fields became the periodical visiting ground of pests, pestilences, famine and flood.

money raised within the boarders of this province finds its way in the Central exchequer and what is left is hopelessly inadequate for the needs of Government. Our per capita income is much less than that of other major provinces and inevitably therefore our per capita expenditure compares unfavourably with that of the other provinces. For every year after year we have been so starved that we have a tremendous leeway to make upour agricultural department has been starved all these years that the existing staff cannot fulfil more than a fraction of its obligation. The irrigation department is nothing short of a scandal..... there is however, no use of attempting to shut our eyes to the fact that without further taxation we cannot hope to satisfy the requirement of Bengal.”

101. If that was the disquieting features of the public finance of the province in the prepartition time, it had not improved any way after partition, rather it had further deteriorated in many respects. In Pakistan, policies of jealous centralisation of administration and taxation on the provincial resources by the Central Gov. was followed more faithfully and rigorously. Central Govt. has taken away all the expanding and flexible sources of provincial taxes,—namely; the income taxes, customs and excise duties, sales taxes etc. It imposes taxes and duties on jute, salt, kerosene post card, clothe, soaps and other conceivable items, though the number of the incidences of taxation stands in sharp contrast to the very cannons of taxonomy and also stands in inverse ratio to quality and purpose of the taxation. Consequently, Central revenue budget has increased from 20, 29, 37000 in 1947-48 to Rs. 563'56. C in 1966-67. It has been in leisurely manner going on opening departments after departments and, directorates after directorates on concomitant and other redundant subjects like health, industry,

East Pakistan had never changed for the better, rather it had further been deteriorated. The same vicious circle of exploitation as in prepartition time had continued unabated after partition, rather more vigorously and pragmatically under the fostering care of the benign Government of Pakistan. In the chain of exploitation, the links had changed only in terms of places and persons. The centre of exploitation had shifted from Calcutta to Karachi and in the exploitation and monopoly of trade and commerce and industries, and in political and administrative services, the Hindus, the British and the Marwaris have given place to the people of West Pakistan—the worst part of it being that they are the Muslims. East Pakistan has been reduced within 20 years to a land of poverty in plenty. It is now overflowed not only by perennial flood and tidal bores; but by landless, homeless unemployed, diseased and uprooted beggars—the victims of the political and economic policies of exploitation pursued by the Central Govt. of Pakistan for the last 20 years.

FISCAL AUTONOMY.

100. Exploitation of the economic resources of East Pakistan by persons of the other wing on the one hand, led to the dwindling of the public finances of the Province which, on the other hand, was further robbed by the central Government under the present fiscal arrangement of Central taxation in the Province. For a comparative study of the extent of exploitation of both the economic resources and the public finances of the Province, one may look to the following extract from the budget speech of the then joint Bengal's Finance Minister (1942) who was no less a person than the Late Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy himself. "It is commonly said that Bengal is the richest in India but alas, the greater part of the

been met...the only way out of the impasse would appear to be for the Central Government to give substantial assistance in meeting recurring cost.

102.. While receipts-revenue and capital of the Central Government were estimated at Rs. 377. C. (after deducting the Provinces' shares)' compared with the revised estimates of Rs. 331. C. for 1964—65, an increase of 7%, and capital receipts during the 1965—66 were estimated at Rs. 555. C. compared with the revised estimates of Rs. 355. C. for 1964—65—an increase of 2%; the revenue receipts of the East Pakistan dwindled from 113'4. C. to 103'8. C. and her capital receipts were reduced from estimated Rs. 205. C. to 190. C. —then to 148. C. and then to Rs. 138'37. C. in 1965-66. Under 3rd five year plan, its first year's development budget (66—67) of Rs. 240. C. has been cut by 10% after only few months of the budget affecting education, co-operative and other nation building departments. Even expenditure on agriculture has been reduced to Rs. 24. C. only. East Pakistan's revenue budget includes Rs. 64'5. C. as its share of the central taxes and as such, 62% of the artificial budget of the province is dependent on the central revenue. This too much dependence on the central budget has made the provincial budget most precarious and unbalanced which seriously disturbs administrative and development agencies and the time schedule and targets of developments which naturally tend to slow down economic activities in East Pakistan —thus increasing further disparities. She could add only Rs. 4'11. C. to her development funds and to balance her development budget, she had to raise Rs. 18'5. C. loans from the market, Rs. 1'81. C. from fresh taxation and Rs. 127. C. as interest paying loans from the Central Govt. in 1966-67. On the other hand the Central Govt. will raise Rs. 37'5. C. from fresh tax-

commerce, agriculture, food social welfare and public relation etc which had been allocated to the provinces under the Constitution. As a result, its huge revenue expenditure has risen to Rs. 372. 10. C and its administrative expenditures on various departments alone have increased to more than Rs. 66. C. On the other hand the province of East Pakistan is practically living on the doles, grants and loans of the Central Government. She has been deprived of the main sources of taxation and consequently she has been left with the only source—the land revenue, the wealth of the poor peasant. Consequently, her land revenues had to be increased from Rs. 3. C in 1947 to Rs. 16. C in 1965. The poor people in some cases have to pay ten times of their previous taxes to the Provincial Govt. The province on the other hand with the meagre and drained out finances has been any how maintaining the various departments, which being starved of requisite amount of finances can hardly meet the growing demands of the people. As a result, the nation building departments such as education, Agriculture, Health, Co—Operatives, communication etc. are holding their precarious position of prestige only as a witness to the civilised existence of the modern Government, but without discharging even a fraction of their responsibilities as enjoined on them in the modern welfare state to the people who are taxed beyond their capacity. Adam Curle of Harvard, a former adviser to the planning Commission said, "It was incapable that East Pakistan, struggling with poverty, an extremely rapidly increasing population and considerable difficulties in administration, was barely holding its own, while West Pakistan was making steady progress... this answer is not to be found in simply increasing East Pakistan's planned allocation... East Pakistan's revenue budget was so small that even had a large programme been implemented, the recurrent cost could hardly have

East Pakistans ? Her Tista Barrage scheme which was taken up long before partition has been sent in to cold storage. The Farakka Barrage of India are drying up the rivers of North Bengal but no serious attempt has even been made to take up the matter with India. If during emergency every thing could be done for West Pakistan why one finds an exception to the same policy in East Pakistan ? One only hears of the talk of the implementation of the Crugg Mission recommendation when East Pakistan is overflowed. As a consequence, East Pakistan's crops are being devastated every year by flood, river erosion and by other avoidable natural calamities. East Pakistan loses every year more than Rs. 150c in terms of the value of crops, lands and houses that are either devastated or eroded by the untamed rivers.

CO-OPERATIVES.

105. Co-operatives are the real "friends-in-need" of the poor peasants of East Pakistan so far agricultural credit supply is concerned. It is the basis of economic democracy. Out of 3,18,905 co-operative societies inherited after partition by East Pakistan, 26,664 societies were agricultural credit societies, and thanks to the policies of the Government, out of this 24,675 societies went in to liquidation by 1957. It was State Bank's statutory responsibility to help the societies with finance. But neither the Bank nor the Government came to their rescue before 1960. The provincial Co-Operative had one cotton mill of 12,400 spindles, but it was sold out. On the other hand Co-operatives in West Pakistan were but on solid financial and organisational footing by the financial and other helps of both the State Bank and the Central and the Provincial Governments. In East Pakistan there are 3.88c farmers who are burdened with old agricultural loans of Rs. 150c and are badly in need of fresh credit of Rs 100c per annum. Out of 85 lakh

ation out of which the poor people of Pakistan shall have to pay 34'4. C as indirect taxes.

103. It is claimed that Provincial revenue budget has increased from Rs. 31'41. C. in 1957—58 to Rs. 118'27. C. in 1966-67 on account of the revision of Reisman Award in 1964, according to which the East Pakistan's share in the Central Tax revenue has increased from 12'72c in 1959—60 to 55'60c in 1965—66 and to Rs. 64'70c in 1966—67. On the basis of the Central Government's own calculation one can legitimately put this very question where the sum of Rs. 880c (Provincial share of 17 years) had been spent so long. On the other hand the revenue of the West Pakistan Government has increased from 58c in (55-56) to 177c in (65-66)—a rise of 300%.

AGRICULTURE.

104. It is now an established fact that East Pakistan's present economic plight and under development are due to this persistent and systematic draining out of her revenues by the central Government. Her agriculture which has borne the main brunt of taxation had been sadly neglected. She was surplus in food production in the beginning and in 1965-66 she had taken Rs. 13'83c as central grant for the purchase of 11'80 lacks tons of food and had a further programme to purchase 13'8 lakh tons of food in 1966-57. Much has been given to the development of agriculture in West Pakistan. Under the Indus Basin development Treaty (Water Treaty of 1960) with India, the Central Government of Pakistan is spending more than 900. C for barrage and Canals. It is spending more than 1500c for reclamation of lands through canal and tube—well irrigation from salinity and water logging in lower Sind basin areas. These expenditures are outside the 3rd five years plan expenditures. Neither war nor emergency had stopped the pursuit of these plans. But what is about

to the paucity of public finance of the province, the Govt. has failed to finance development plan of the educational institutions and as a result, the educational authorities have been compelled to increase tuition fees in some respect by 100%, further pushing education beyond the reach of the poor people. Thus comparative study of the census figure (1961) shows that while during 1950-60, the number of matriculates in East Pakistan rose from 2,82,000 to 300,000, in West Pakistan this number more than doubled from 2,40,000 to 5,82,000. Total number of graduates and post graduate declined in East Pakistan from 55,000 to 35,000 while in West Pakistan it jumped from 59,000 to 78,000. Salaries of the primary school teachers are also far less than those of their counterparts in West Pakistan. In Medical Education also the situation shows the same position in contrast with West Pakistan. While East Pakistan is producing 200 doctors plus 50 nurses per annum, West Pakistan is producing 600 doctors and 200 nurses for a population which is one crore less than that of East Pakistan. The result has been that developments and social services of the province are seriously suffering due to the non-availability of technical persons. The entire situation would have been different had the provincial revenue not been drained out by the Centre since 1947.

COMMUNICATION. 107. Communication presents a very sad picture in East Pakistan. No other department has been so much badly neglected as communication for want of fund. Even in 20 years of her existence, Sub-divisions have not been connected with the district head quarters by metal roads. As a result trade, commerce and agriculture of the province have suffered immensely. Had proper attention been given to this all-important department, much of the economic and

agricultural families 50 lack families are jute cultivators who alone require 50c of credit per annum according to the Credit Enquiry Report of 1959. But East Pakistan Government with its meagre finance can hardly supply them with requisite amount of credit, and as a result, her financial help to the cultivators with takkavi loans is gradually decreasing as follows :—Rs. 3,84c in 1963-64, Rs. 3.02c in 1964-65, and Rs. 1.80c in 1965-66. Even capital of the Co-Operative Depts has been taken out from the capital expenditure of the annual budget of the province in 1966-67.

EDUCATION.

106. At the time of partition East Pakistan was far ahead in literacy of West Pakistan. Now she has fallen far behind West Pakistan on account of the paucity of public finance and consequent neglect of education. As a result even in 20 years one fourth of its school going children has not been provided with primary education, and education has been made so much costly that their number has geometrically dwindled upwards, as it will be evident from the following statistics. The number of students in the year 1963-64; in the classes of I-Iv, VI-X, in three degree classes and post graduate class were respectively 3954878 : 6,56056 : 23,773 and 2916. Engineering University whose yearly establishment cost is above 68 lacks can admit only 360 students. The ratio of technical education is not even 2% of general education, whereas it is 59% in West Germany. In spite of the fact that both general and technical-education are most costly for the poor province of East Pakistan, every year at the time of beginning of the session, thousands of students are turned away from the doors of higher education for want of seats. It is almost beyond the reach of the poor students to get higher or technical education. Due

central revenues have been spent there. It had been the centre of business, trade, industry commerce and financial house of Pakistan. As East Pakistan's trade, commerce industries, export and import and financial house had been monopolised by a section of West Pakistan people, they have taken much prudent care to set up head offices of their business in Karachi. While they do business in East Pakistan and earn profit here, they take much anxious care to pay income tax in West Pakistan, as the head offices of their business are situated in Karachi. As a result East Pakistan is deprived of her legitimate share of the income tax collected on the business profits and salaries of their employees earned in East Pakistan. After Martial Law to make the cup of sorrow and ignominy brimful for East Pakistan, this Karachi port and city with all its economic potentialities, built at the cost of East Pakistan's money and development, have been handed over to the province of West Pakistan which has annexed it as a part of its territory. As a result, income tax deposited in the Karachi capital area will be taken as income tax collected within the Jurisdiction of West Pakistan and as such according to the recommendation of the finance commission of 1964, 'income tax levied on profits that are earned in East Pakistan but deposited in Karachi shall be divided between the province of West Pakistan and the Central Government to the deprivation of the East Pakistan of her legitimate share in it. Now the only alternative left for East Pakistan is to compell all the business and commercial concerns, which do business in East Pakistan, to pay income tax and business profits in East Pakistan only, wherever their head offices may be, no matter.

HOW SOURCES OF REVENUES HAVE WITHERED UNDER CENTRAL TAXATION.

109. The central Government has concerned itself with the collection of taxes from the revenue resources

social evils of the province would have been eradicated. Official corruption and oppression, increase of social crimes and development costs, growth of economic and social gullibles, parasites and middle-men too, who are squeezing the poor peasants, existence of inequalities and disparity in prices of raw materials and consumer goods in the rural and the urban areas, influx of population in the urban areas from the rural areas, deprivation of impacts and benefits of recent development—all these can safely be attributed to the absence of a suitable and planned all weather metal roads systems in East Pakistan. The communication system of North Bengal is so deplorable as to beggar all description. All these happened because the Province's revenue resources had been taken away by the Centre, and whatever yearly grant she had been given as a dole is even insufficient to maintain the establishment costs of the communication and the building departments. even in a small state like Singapore, one tenth of her population is now provided with Government-built houses at low rents. But in East Pakistan no such provision of low-cost and low rent houses has been made for the low-paid officers even, not to speak of the public of the urban areas. As a result, rents of the houses are so much sky-rocketting that it has compelled the low-paid officers to balance their family budget by indulging in questionable means.

DEPRIVATION OF OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE

108. Karachi was developed as a capital of the central Government of Pakistan for the last 15 years at the cost of the hard-earned foreign exchange of East Pakistan and as much as 700c have been spent towards its buildings. Hundreds of industries and other side businesses and financial houses have been set up there. More over 95% of the

Government has only busied itself with the collection of duties from jute export and then jealousy guarded the interest of the big business people mostly non-Bengalis without caring for either of the interest of the jute production itself or the jute cultivators. The following facts will speak for themselves.

112. Before partition India and Pakistan jointly produced 99% of jute in the world. After Partition in 1947-48, Pakistan produced 70% of jute and almost 100% of best varieties. East Pakistan produced 68,42,605 lacks bales and India Produced only 16,58,000 lacks bales. Within 20 yrs India has shot up her production to 75,40,000 lacks bales from 16 lacks and has increased acres from 6.52 lacks acres in 1947 to 1.95 million acres in 1965-66 and has exported jute goods worth Rs. 169c in 1965 which is 9c in excess of the Third plan target of India (Ref. Indian journal of industry and trade, feb. 66). On the other hand within 20 yrs. Pakistan's position in production has been reduced to 63, 64,340 lacks bales in 1965 from 68 lacks bales in 1947. She produced 70% of world jute in 1947 and now she produced only 37% of the world production of jute. Even Thailand which produced 7 lacks bales in 1961 has increased her production to 33 lacks in 1966. And world demand for jute has increased to 21.5 million bales in 1966-67.

113. How absent-mindedly the Central Government had guided the destiny of this all-important national economy and of the jute producers of East Pakistan will be evident from the following table :—

of the province without caring for the proper development of the resources. As a result, when golden eggs were robbed, geese have starved even to the verge of starvation death. The following few instances will be sufficient to justify the observation.

JUTE. 110, Jute is the main foreign exchange earner of Pakistan on which had depended the industrial development of the country. In fact, it is jute through which Pakistan was introduced to the World. In 1948-49 it fetched Rs. 119.6C of foreign exchange which was 61% of the total foreign exchange earned by Pakistan. Out of 876'14C foreign exchange earned during 1958-65, jute alone accounted for 660'53C. Even in the year 1965-66 out of 271'88c of foreign exchange jute alone fetched 157c. East Pakistan's sole economy and provincial autonomy fully depended upon this all important national cash crop. It engaged 50 lacks out of 83 lacks agricultural families in East Pakistan. More than 50,000 people are engaged in jute trade per annum. Jute industries provide the largest number of labour, more than 1 lac and their number is increasing with the number of mills. Jute alone constitutes 85% of the yearly export of East Pakistan and export duties on jute constitute 65% of the total proceeds from the export duties and 10% of the total central revenues.

111. Such an all-important national economy cash crop which provides employments to millions, both agricultural and industrial, and earned maximum foreign exchange and revenue to the national exchequer is controlled since 1947 right from sowing down to the fixation of prices of production, external and internal prices and final disposal of the crop in the national and the international market by the central Government through its agent—the Jute Board. Experiences of the last 20 years have fully demonstrated that the central

growers and it comes into the godowns of the middlemen and shippers, its price is restored to the world ruling price as usual. Each year the cultivators are cheated of the economic price to the extent of Rs. 75c at the rate of Rs. 25 per mond. The Government remains as a silent spectator. In the year 1965 the floor price was fixed at Rs. 22, and in the year (1966) the minimum price was fixed at Rs. 32, when the world ruling price was the same. Even on calculating at the fixed Government rate, the cultivators had been cheated by Rs. 30c in that year. Up to the date no effective methods or agencies have been devised or set-up to give economic price and credit to the poor cultivators of jute. And yet the economic well-being of the 50 lacks jute-cultivating families fully depend upon this cash crop. The government has banned production of jute within 5 mile belt of the boarder, As a result, cultivators have been deprived of producing 5 lac bales of jute in 1.5 lac acres of land and East Pakistan has been deprived of the foreign exchange of Rs. 15c at the rate of Rs. 60 per mond. If discovery of 40,000 bags of wheat with West Pakistan marks in Khem-Karan (in India) during the last war could not provoke the Government of Pakistan to restrict the production of wheat within the belt of 5 miles in west Pakistan, why should such restriction continue in East Pakistan? One fails to understand it. To save jute from substitutes internationally and to save the cultivators from internal exploitation, the only remedy lies in provincialising both the jute production and its trade, and not in opening parallel organisation like jute trading Corporation or Companies run by bureucnacies in air-conditioned multi-stoaid palacial building without brord-basing and adequately financing the present G.M.C. for lifting jute from the growers in the mufassil arears.

Year	Area sown in lacks	yield in bale in lacks	Foreign exchange earned by jute in crores	Percentage of jute earning	
1947-41	50.51	68.42	119.6	68%
1948-49	18.76	54.79	9.83	50.11%
1949-50	15.60	33.79	119.41		
1950-51	17.10	60.67	255.35	121.49	47.58%
1951-52	17.78	63.31	200.86	99.62	49.60%
1952-53	19.06	68.22	150.99	56.76	37.60%
1953-54	9.65	36.09	126.60	56.60	42.01%
1954-55	12.43	46.62	122.30	62.13	50.80%
1955-56	16.34	55.92	178.37	93.40	52.40%
1956-57	12.30	55.13	160.70	79.70	49.58%
1957-58	15.62	57.20	142.17	94.48	66.46%
1958-59	15.28	60.00	132.53	84.99	61.12%
1959-60	13.75	55.54	184.27	95.62	61.89%
1960-61	15.17	45.09	179.94	116.22	64.59%
1961-62	20.60	69.68	184.34	117.01	63.48%
1962-63	17.23	65.85	203.37	109.58	53.88%
1963-64	17.00	58.75	168.88	97.23	57.58%
1964-65	16.60	53.80	242.03	114.07	47.11%
1965-66	20.90	63.64	271.88	157.00	59.00%

114. In the absence of any definite jute policy pursued by the central Government the acres and production of jute have fluctuated according to the demand and supply of the inspired market, and as a result, on the one hand, cultivators have been exploited both in the internal and international market by the middle men and on the other, it had given rise to substitutes in the external market which had seriously jeopardised the monopoly position of jute. When jute season begins and jute is brought into the market, suddenly the internal and the external market price of jute falls, even sometimes to Rs. 3—5 as in 1950 but when the jute goes out of the hand of the jute

a loss of Rs. 6'55c per annum. Out of 7000 route miles inherited from the united India, West Pakistan got 5325 miles and East Pakistan 1618 miles.

The total book value of the capital assets of the two railways in Pakistan's share was Rs. 133c. The assets of the united India Railways were divided between India and Pakistan on the basis of population; but at the time of the so-called partition of Pakistan Railway on 22.1.62, the same policy was not followed for the reason best known to all. It was done, if the partition may be called a partition at all, on the basis of 'as it is where it is'. A sum of Rs. 50'8c and Rs. 80'4c have been spent between 1947-1955 and between 1955 to 1960 respectively for the development of the Pakistan Railway. With it shall be added two years' development expenditures up to 1962 under the 2nd year plan. Thus the total assets of the railway shall come to near about Rs. 340c; and if the assets are divided on the basis of the ratio of population and the ratio of amount spent in the respective zone, East Pakistan's share in the assets shall exceed more than 200c. Instead of handing over any asset to the East Pakistan Railway, the central Govt. is drawing Rs. 6c per annum as interest on investment from the annual revenue of the P. E. R. As a result West Pakistan Railway is enjoying all the benefits of development of the last 18 years having Rs. 8c as annual profit, and the people are getting more comfort, paying less as freight and fare, and also are making headway for electric train; on the other hand, P. E. R. is issuing debentures of Rs. 6'50c to balance its budget. It has enhanced enormously the rate of freight and fare charges, more than 6 times since partition without giving any amenities to the travelling people. Pilferage and decoity in the train is more a rule than an exception now a days. The administration of the P. E. R. is in a shamble.

FISHING. 115. Another important source of revenue and employment of the province is the fish. Out of 11c of foreign exchange earned by fish-export annually from Pakistan, East Pakistan earns Rs. 9c and out of total production of 3, 60, 503 tons of fish in Pakistan in 1964 East Pakistan produced 70%. Her minimum consumption per annum is at the rate of 30 ounces per head 30'80 million mounds, but she produces only 18'30 million mounds and nevertheless she exports. Out of 8, 48, 500 fisher men in Pakistan, East Pakistanis are 735800 in number and out of 53,500 boats, 51,000 are in East Pakistan. But so far mechanised fishing is concerned for deep sea fishing her fishing industry has been sadly neglected. While West Pakistan fishing concerns have 226 trollers, 436 launches and 4559 sail boats, East Pakistan has only 7 trollers, 23 launches and 3977 sail boats. Her Cox Bazar's 127 miles longest sea beaches in the world are the natural estuaries of sea fishes which remains untapped due to absence of mechanised crafts and other catching instruments. East Pakistan earns the maximum foreign Exchange from fish export and she does not get an adequate amount of foreign exchange to mechanise her fishing instruments. Moreover, the central Govt. had already built a fish harbour at Karachi and has started another one at the cost of the central fund, but not a single fish harbour has been built so far in East Pakistan with the central fund. Consequently, fish industry is suffering in East Pakistan.

RAILWAY. 116. In prepartition time B. A. Railway was the cheapest and the most comfortable means of transport. But within 18 years of its control under the Central Government after partition it has become one of the worst type of transport both for passengers and goods in the world. No body nowadays wants to travel or send goods by Rail if any alternative transport is available. Its annual budget of 1966-67 shows that it is running at

TEA. 118. Tea is another important source of revenue and foreign exchange earner of East Pakistan. It had earned Rs. 5.58c of foreign exchange in 1954-55 and Rs. 1.1c in 1965-66. It is gradually decreasing. It provides employment to lot of people. But the greater part of the industry is monopolised by outsiders. Behind the back of the Govt. of East Pakistan and the 'Tea Board' which is controlled by the central Govt. and which controls the tea industry right from production down to the marketing of the tea, the recent shady deal of grabbing the tea gardens declared as enemy properties by certain non-Bengali business men is a pointer to the fact as to how the interests of East Pakistan are being protected by the said Board.

The said tea gardens which have blocked account of Rs. 2c and give an annual profit of Rs. 1c and whose minimum market price is Rs. 4c, was allegedly sold at Rs. 2c on payment of 5 yrs. instalment by private negotiation, without putting them to public auction according to law. The tea export from East Pakistan to West Pakistan has increased from 13 million pounds in 1949 to 50 millions pounds in 1965. This shows that it is smuggled out through Landikotal to other states from Pakistan and East Pakistan is deprived of foreign exchange. Both the tea industries and the Tea Board must be provincialised in order to save the tea industries, labours and revenue of the province from exploitation.

HOW CENTRAL FISCAL POLICY HAS AFFECTED PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE PROVINCE.

119. The central government has been in the habit of imposing taxes and excise duties on the provincial resources without caring or taking into consideration the unwholesome and disastrous crippling effects of them on the industrial production and employment, especia-

Even in 20 years, the P. E. R. could not link North Bengal with the capital with a bridge on the river Jamuna. The deplorable railway communication in North Bengal beggars description. The important rail line from Naogaon to Rohanpur whose survey has long been completed remains to be implemented.

Pre-partition time double lines have been withdrawn from the main broad gauge line and upper class boggies and engines have been removed to the West Pakistan Railway. Up to the date the double line has not been completed even between Dacca and Chittagong, and consequently, the P. E. R. has systematically failed to cope with the normal growing needs of the developing economy, not to speak of coping with any emergency. As a result, industry and agricultural raw materials and perishable goods are suffering in the country. Bottlenecks in Railway Transport are the main reason for the slow progress of development, the high price of the production cost of indigenous goods and the imported consumer goods. The ravages of natural calamities are more aggravated by the bottleneck created by the railway transports.

117. More over, as it was centrally administered, there were as many as 11,500 excess employees dumped on the P. E. R. after partition. There had been immense development of railways in the West Pakistan, and these persons could be easily absorbed there. Besides there are more than 214 excess gazetted officers at the top which has made the P. E. R. a top heavy administration. The Govt. of East Pakistan should at once set up a high power committee to enquire in to the entire functional structures and administrative affairs of the P. E. R. and should stop all payments to the Central Govt. be they on account of loan or any other till the assets are properly divided and handed over to the P. E. R.

consumer goods or development materials according to her needs. The discrepancy between her foreign exchange earning and her import will be seen from the following datas :-

If we compare the relative capacity of foreign exchange earnings of the two wings, we find that East Pakistan earned foreign exchange by export of Rs. 421. 21c against her import of Rs. 167.17c with favourable trade balance of 254.04c in 1948—52, while West Pakistan earned Rs. 342.95c against her import of Rs. 411.88c sustaining an adverse trade balance of Rs. 69.03c" during the same period. Between 1963-64 to 1966-67 (July-March 67), East Pakistan and West Pakistan earned Rs. 525c and 434c respectively.

From report on Inter-Regional and Intra-Regional disparities, published in dec 1967, page 10 by Govt of Pakistan Cabinet Division shows.

(Table—4)

Export Earning of East and West Pakistan
(Million rupees)

Year	East Pakistan	West Pakistan	East Pakistan's share in the total earning
1960-61	1,259	540	70%
1961-62... ..	1,301	543	70%
1962-63... ..	1,249	998	55%
1963-64... ..	1,224	1,070	54%
1964-65	1,268	1,140	53%
1965-66... ..	1,514	1,204	55%
1966-67... ..	1,660	1,325	56%

The above table will show how the rapid industrial and other development of West Pakistan are increasing her export-earning potentialities with the concomitant fall in East Pakistan's capacity of Export earning.

lly on the cottage industries of East Pakistan. It has been the cardinal state economic policy of every modern welfare state that their fiscal and tariff policies must not affect production and that they must be conducive to broadbasing the ownership of industries and employment expansion. But in Pakistan just the reverse policy is pursued in order to rob the poor Saul (the people) to pay to the rich Paul (the big business magnates). As a result of this short-sighted and unplanned central policy of import and taxation import of tendu leaves has been banned, rendering lacs of labour unemployed. There stands no reason why 3,04542 gallons of foreign liquor and Cigarettes and tobacco are imported at the cost of rich and rare foreign exchange. If on political consideration this policy has been adopted, then tendu leaves could be imported from countries other than India. What ever might be the reason, the policy has been ill-conceived and inhuman without making any alternative provision of employment for the unemployed. 'Similar fiscal and tariff policies of the central Government have uprooted the bel-metal and silk industries of Nawabganj Sub-Division in the Rajshahi District and bel-metal industries in Tangail Sub-Division in the Mymensing District.

*DISPARITY BETWEEN FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND
IMPORT AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE LIVING COST
AND DEVELOPMENT IN EAST PAKISTAN*

123. The Central Government controls foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan. East Pakistan has earned the maximum amount of foreign exchange of Pakistan through her export, an overwhelmingly major portion of which has been spent for the import of consumer goods and for development of industries in West Pakistan. East Pakistan has from the very beginning been systematically deprived of her foreign exchange for importing

plan period. But what meaning or relation these economic juggleries have to a common man who is agonising under the crushing pressure of sky-rocketing high prices, where salary and income is fixed constant, and the index of prices is constantly varying and going upwards with no hope of coming down. Even the State Bank's annual report, 1966, narates that while whole sale price index has risen in West Pakistan from 103% to 112'63%, it has risen in East Pakistan from 111'17% in 64—65 to 122'77% in 65-66. Even according to Economic Survey report on East Pakistan budget of 1966 the Govt. has accentuated the already deteriorating situation of price by creation of paper mōny by 41% in DaC. 1965 over that in dec. 1964 as against the all Pakistan 16% during the 2nd plan period and has caused the price index to shoot up to 126% at Dacca. One can well understand the situation in the rural areas where the communication is medieval. If percapita income and G. N. P. etc can have any meaning in a country where a civilised and modern government exists and where the economic problems are solved and are talked not on economic level, but on political consideration for Propagandas.

125. The value of money depends on the constant price level of goods. In other words the money value and real value of money must be the same. It will be evident from the following table published in an article, (contributed by Mr. Christopher Soang, who was a minister, 1960—64 of Food and Agriculture in U. K., Pak. Observer, August, 1966), how scrupulously the Government of U. K. preserved the value of pound in terms of goods and daily necessities even over a decade

124. The discrepancy between the meagre amount of import and the actual need of the province has created a great gap between the supply of goods and demands for them by the people. As a result scarcity of goods always has prevailed in the market during this long 20 years of Pakistan's existence. Not a single month or year will pass when one will not hear of scarcity of goods.

As a result, essential goods like cement, medicines, iron rods, hardwares, books, petrol, kerosene, mustard oils, coal, tins, dyes and other chemicals had always been of scarce supply, and are not available in the normal market but in the black market, sometimes at tripple the price. This short import not only account for high price but are responsible both for slowness and high cost of development in East Pakistan. East Pakistan's economy is primarily an agricultural economy and as such the majority of people get low price by selling raw materials and pay more price for the purchase of consumer goods. Other people mainly with fixed income can hardly adjust their family budget with the soaring price of daily necessities in the scarcity market. As a result, on the one side living cost is rising with the concomitant rise of price in the market beyond the means of the common people; and on the other side business people are fabulously getting rich at the cost of the people with black-market prices. In this unbearing economic situation one can hardly think of any saving in his family budget, and consequently the national saving of the people of East Pakistan which is the sum total of individual savings of the people must naturally be nothing. It is glibly talked by the Government that G.N.P. is increasing by 4.8% per annum, national wealth by 30% in the 2nd 5 yrs plan period, per-capita income by Rs. 359/-, Rs. 365 in 1964-65, Rs. 372 in 65-66, i.e., 1.7% per annum or 14.8% in the 2nd

A POLITICAL SURVEY OF PAK AUTONOMY IN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES IN EAST FINANCIAL PAKISTAN.

127. As the Government of Pakistan is highly centralised, so are its planning and development agencies. It not only controls East Pakistan through its overall control over her public finances, the central Government controls and regulates the Province's economic development too by controlling her economic and development agencies from the centre which is located in West Pakistan. At the apex, the Economic Council is one policy making agency called the National Development Commission, which decides broad economic and development policies for both the whole of Pakistan as a whole. Below it there is another all important body, called the planning commission, which is responsible for preparing economic and planning policies for both the provinces and the centre. This important body, sitting at the central seat of the Central Government, controls the province's economic, agricultural, industrial, educational and financial and other policies and development, and industrial right from formulating the (1) economic and industrial broad policies on provincial basis, (2) preparing industrial and investment schedules, (3) deciding industrial and other development target, (4) Procurement and releasing or distribution of resources, (5) allocation of funds or reducing withholding or withdrawing or redistribution of province funds including foreign exchange, sector wise, revising wise down to the (6) sanctioning, rejecting schemes and plans submitted by the province.

In other words, the central government controls the development is possible in the province, namely—I. preparation and allocation of policies and schemes for development, 2. procurement and 3. funding of material resources for development. As a matter both in national and foreign currencies.

to give real benefit of development and other economic comforts to her people :—

	1955	£	d	1965	£	d
Wheat (C.W.T.)	29	9		25	5	
Barley „	26	0		25	4	
Milk (gallons)	3	2		3	6	
Egg (dozen)	3	1		3	8	
Lamb (£)	3	0		3	2	
Beef (C.W.T)	138	8		174	0	

129. In the absence of similar constancy of price index; all talks of increase of per-capita income or national income and the few developments in term of beautiful multi-storied buildings in the urban areas, are all meaningless and deceptive. The general people has to purchase rice at 200% high prices and can not have even one fair square meal in a day, and the so-called country's development having no relation with them. Non-availability or not-timely-availability of foreign exchange which is always less than the actual necessities of East Pakistan is responsible for the scarcity of goods and tight position of the market.

Even necessary goods like mustard oils, medicines, cement, coal and tins could not be purchased due to paucity of foreign exchange. In such market position of artificial scarcity, the smugglers, black-marketeers, industrialists, importers and other economic parasites and gullibles can exist as pervenus and fructify to the detriment of the common man's interest. 20 years experiences, economic needs and the geographical distance have made it imperatively necessary that East Pakistan must have full control over her foreign exchange to save her teeming millions from inevitable economic collapse without any further delay

Pakistan and East Pakistan's hard-earned foreign exchange is being spent in importing raw materials to feed and keep going these industries. It is far from clear on what consideration, either feasibility or economic, four Jute mills are being set up in West Pakistan. From one cement mill existing in prepartition time 9 big cement mills have been set up in West Pakistan, producing more than 22.5 lac tons annually and exporting them to foreign countries, whereas not a single cement mill has been set up in East Pakistan, where annual needs are 15 million tons.

Consequently, when one can purchase one bag of cement in West Pakistan at Rs. 4 to 6, it is selling at Rs. 16 per bag, if available at all, in the black market in East Pakistan. One can understand the slow development pace and its cost in East Pakistan, either in the private or in the public sector. Centrally controlled P. I. D. C. had invested (1950—62) Rs. 1286.75 millions in 54 industries, 33 out of which in West Pakistan and 21 in East Pakistan, where as this very E. P. I. D. C. after its bifurcation (in 1962-65) has invested Rs. 68C in East Pakistan. In West Pakistan, cotton mills have increased from 7 to 99 mills after partition but adequate number of such mills have not been set up in East Pakistan to supply yarns for her 3.8 lack handloom cottage industries which depend upon imported yarns from West Pakistan.. Though Important source of powers like coal and coke, was found in East Pakistan long ago, halting and haphazard policies of the central Government has left it where it was, untapped. Even in 20 yrs. industries of life-saving drugs, medicines X—ray plates, have not been set up in East Pakistan. Her fish fruits, caning industries for which vast potentialities are available, have not been developed. I have already described the precarious position of East Pakis

of fact, for this concentration of economic policy-making powers and development agencies in the hands of the central Government, West-Pakistan, on the one hand, has been immensely benefited beyond the limit permissible by her needs and potentialities, because of the location of the central government within her territorial jurisdiction ; on the other hand, the natural economic and other development potentialities of East Pakistan have suffered for the last 20 yrs. Economic policies and industrial schedules had never been prepared consistent with the overall interests, needs and natural development potentialities of East Pakistan. It is crystal clear from table no 6 of the Report on Inter-Regional and Intra-Regional Disparities published by Government of Pakistan, Cabinet Division, Dec 1967, how the cause of East Pakistan has been neglected, "the industrial sanctions given within the frame work of the Industrial Investment schedule during the first two years of the Third plan also show a similar pattern. Of the total sanctions given during this period, only 33 percent have been obtained by East Pakistan compared with 67 percent by West Pakistan (table 6), page 4". Consequently her vast natural industrial and economic resources still remain untapped on the one hand, and on the other, the people of East Pakistan are deprived of the benefits of independence, and are suffering from abject poverty, illiteracy, multiple diseases, unemployment, frustrations and political and economic unrest—all being the by-products and consequences of non-development of her natural economic and manpower resources

128. Even in the industrial investment schedules published for the 3rd five yrs plan, 1966-70, West Pakistan has been allocated Rs. 1'80 for packing and Covering industries; but for East Pakistan no allocation of funds or schedule has been made (1965-66). Many unnatural and uneconomic industries have been set up in West

the U.S.A. They have grown not only in horizontal line but more in parallel line. The same businessman in Pakistan is at once a whole sale and retail trader, industrialist, banker and insurance tycoons-monopolising trade, commerce, industries, banks and insurance companies of Pakistan. As a matter of grace, these institutions have not forgotten to open their branch offices in East Pakistan. But they are mere post offices having no absolute power, either to scrutinise loan-petitions or to finally dispose them of. It is an ordeal to get credit from these Dacca offices. It dampen local initiatives and spirit of enterprise. By indulging in time-consuming processes, the local officers of these institutions seem to be more concerned with pleasing their bosses of Karachi-Head offices, rather than risk the displeasure of their bosses by looking into the interests of East Pakistan entrepreneurs.

131. On perusal of relevant reports, one will find glaring disparity in investment in the two provinces by these financing houses. It is found that P.I.C.I.C. has invested from 1957 to 1966 Rs. 22.48c only in East Pakistan while it has invested in West Pakistan Rs. 56.92c and Rs. 22.91c in Karachi. One fails to understand why investment in West Pakistan and Karachi are separately shown, while Karachi is a part of West Pakistan. It is just to sidetrack mere glaring disparity. House Building Finance Corporation has invested up to 1965 Rs. 12.25c in East Pakistan and Rs. 21.48c in West Pakistan. I.D.B.P has invested 47% and 53% of its fund in East Pakistan and West Pakistan respectively from 1961-62 to 1966-67. (table 4, R.I.I.D). Private investment between 1963-64 to 1965-66 in East Pakistan and West Pakistan are 2046m and 7102m or 22% and 78% respectively (table 5, Report on inter-regional and intra-regional disparities, Govt. of Pakistan).

tan Railways, port, fishing harbours and other communications.

DISINVESTMENT POLICY AND CARTELISATION AND MONOPOLY CAPITALISM OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

129. Another back-door policy by the central government of Pakistan in disinvesting public sector industries when made profitable to the private industrialists has acted disastrously against the overall economy and interests of East Pakistan. The transfer of Kornofuly paper Mills to a private industrialist behind the knowledge of the public on private negotiation against the rules of public laws can not but be a shady deal. Recent public and press agitation could not stop the transfer of a similar deal of tea gardens.

AUTONOMY FROM CENTRAL CONTROL OVER IN- DUSTRIES AND BANKING CREDIT INSTITUTION.

130. The central government not only controls East Pakistan's Industrial economic developments through her control over economic policies but it controls them also through its controls over industrial and banking credits in East Pakistan. Head offices of all the industrial credit giving institutions and sponsoring agencies such as industrial development banks, P. I. C. I. C. , A. D. B. , Investment Corporation of Pakistan, Central investment promotion and co-ordination committee, investment promotion and supplies department of Govt. of Pakistan, Investment Advisory Centre and National investment trust have been very carefully and jealously set up in West Pakistan. These financial institutions are all under the financial control of the West Pakistani business men and industrialists and bankers. The most unfortunate aspect of the Pakistani economy is that in cartelisation and monopoly it has surpassed even their mother country-

East Pakistan. The following observations of the competent body like the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and industries (E-Pakistan) are worth mentioning ;—“The facilities provided by the P.I.D.C. and I.D.B.P. or any other financing institutions are inadequate in the context of the volume of demand in East Pakistan...Factors like the extreme inadequacy of infrastructures, cumbresome official procedures and technical know-how and others have discouraged both the local and non-local investment...In East Pakistan, the banking facilities are inadequate. Inordinate delays have taken place in sanctioning projects. There have been uncertainties about the grant or sanction which has discouraged the investment...official Procedures should be simplified and unnecessary control abolished,...autonomous bodies operating in the province should have adequate powers to take decision about project submitted for loans and credits. More over considering delays and inconveniences faced by the investors of this wing in floating companies with a capital of over Rs. 10 lacks or with foreign participants, because permissions are to be obtained from the controller of capital issues stationed at Rawalpindi in such cases. Why Government of East Pakistan's Industries Department is not competent to issue such order, as industries is constitutionally a provincial subject.

AUTONOMY FROM CENTRAL CONTROL OVER EXPORT AND IMPORT TRADE OF EAST PAKISTAN.

134. Central control over the province's foreign exchange and the export and import trades of the province since the very beginnig of Pakistan With the location of their head office at Karachi in West Pakistan is the single largest factor responsible for the location of all the financial enterprises and export and import businesses in West Pakistan as well as accretion of

132. All the scheduled banks and insurance companies barring one or two have their head offices located at Karachi and are under the influence, control and ownership of West Pakistan business magnetes. What ever deposits and premiums these financial houses receive in East Pakistan, the major portion of them are invested in West Pakistan. It is found that the scheduled Banks had deposits of Rs. 558'52c in West Pakistan and Rs. 192'85c in East Pakistan; and the major portion of these deposits received in East Pakistan was invested in West Pakistan. Fixed capital of scheduled Banks in East Pakistan in December, 1965 was 80c, but in Feb. 1966, it came down to Rs. 35c. Flight of capital from this wing to the other wing has assumed such a large scale that a non-official resolution was said to be moved in the East Pakistan Assembly in its 1966 budget session to the effect that all autonomous bodies having Rs. 100c annual deposits must deposit them in the scheduled banks having head office in East Pakistan and all deposits and premiums received in East Pakistan by scheduled Banks and insurance companies must be invested in East Pakistan alone, and bonus vouchers earned by export from East Pakistan must be used for the import in East Pakistan alone.

133. Even the Pakistan National Bank has, out of its 600 branches, 200 branches in East Pakistan. But its recent move under the 'peoples credit scheme under which it extended short term credit of Rs. 24c in 1965 to the small borrowers in East Pakistan, was most laudable and correct approach in the right way to solve the credit problems of East Pakistan. East Pakistan had earned bulk of foreign exchange of Pakistan and 42% of the total development imports under the 2nd five yrs. plan were financed from the country's own foreign exchange earning. But only Rs. 127'9c out of 337'6c invested in industries under the 2nd plan was spent in

nity, have always grabbed the lion's share of it. For want of timely publication of the schedule, sometimes a particular foreign exchange allotted for a particular sector, however important it might be even in a govt. department, lapses. And consequently, there is not a single month in a year in East Pakistan when one will not hear of the stranding and closing of mills, factories, even power houses, for want of imported coal, fuels and other raw materials. Even in the year 1965-66, I.D.A. loans of more than Rs. 6c for E.P.A.D.C. granted for the purchase of agricultural implements could not be utilised due to non-issue of licence before the year was out where as its counterpart in West Pakistan could utilise just double the amount of foreign exchange. Some times, whole things are manipulated in such a clandestine way that the East Pakistanis are taken by surprise only when the entire foreign exchange is exhausted and the licenses are issued in a single day in West Pakistan. Import licences under German Aid of worth Rs. 6C for the import of chemicals and drugs from Germany is one of the innumerable cases in point. Even one crore of rupees of foreign exchange allotted for the import of tin for the cyclon-affected areas of East Pakistan lapsed due to non-issue of licence in time,

136. Secondly, foreign exchange is not allotted to import goods in East Pakistan according to the needs of East Pakistan. There is prevailing scarcity of goods, the necessities of life for the common people, such as medicines, books cement, mustard oils, yarns as also corrugated tins, hard wares implements and fuels which are urgently necessary for the development of the country. Due to coal shortage valuable trees have been devastated and cut down for burning bricks, causing

capital, economic affluence and consequently, for lack of economic and industrial development and dearth of local capital formation and industrial finance, and paucity of financial, industrial and commercial adventures and entrepreneurship in East Pakistan. As the said department was hundred percent controlled and manned by the West Pakistanis and its head office was located in West Pakistan-Karachi, and this was the all important easy money-making department of the central government it helped transaction of export-import business of millions and millions of rupees annually thus putting the bulk of the money in to the pockets of the exporter importer, mostly of West Pakistan. The East Pakistanis could hardly avail even 5% of the chance at the initial stage from Dacca. Exporters and importers list since 1947-60 will show that 70% and in the beginning of Pakistan 97% of the export and import of Pakistan was controlled by non-East Pakistanis. After much agitation, Deputy Controller's office has been opened at Chittagang but it has little power, so far as policy making is concerned. In other words the export and import trade of East Pakistan is conducted and controlled by the Central Government from Karachi or Rawalpindi; and consequently, the cause of East Pakistan has suffered immensely in more than one way.

135. Firstly, the import and export schedules for East Pakistan are not prepared in time, or when prepared are not published in time in comparison with those for West Pakistan. Consequently as foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan is not spent in East Pakistan alone and the total foreign exchange of Pakistan is not divided on the ratio of population or the effective demand of the respective two regions, but is allocated on lump basis for the entire zone of Pakistan, the West Pakistani exporters and importers, because of proximity and affi-

Europe and he cheated the Government of foreign exchange by not repatriating it to the extent of Rs. 40 lacks only in freight charges. Another gentleman who was given licence from East Pakistan quota to bring coal from China did not even insure the import and for mysterious causes the cargo ships went aground.

139. Fifthly, on the other hand, for trade expansion also the cause and interests of East Pakistan always go unrepresented. She is getting no benefit whatsoever from the central Government or its sponsored trade promoting agencies like—I. export credit guarantee scheme, 2. Export market development fund, 3. the Pakistan home development international limited, 4. Investment promotion bureau or council 5.R.C.D. or 6. Barter trade with II Eastern Socialist Countries.

140. THE EFFECT OF THE CENTRAL CONTROL OVER THE PROVINCE'S EXPORT & IMPORT TRADE.

The disastrous cumulative effect of such policy had been, on the one hand, that it had led to the formation of Capital in West Pakistan and, on the other hand, trade and commerce and other retail and specially whole sale business had left the hands of the Bengalis for ever during the last 20 yrs. of Pakistan's existence. Now 91% of the retail shops in Jinna avenue, Nawabpur Road and Chittagang which was formerly in the hands of the East Pakistanis are now in the hands of the West Pakistanis. The other effect of the concentration of both the capital and the export and import head office at Karachi had been most disastrous for East Pakistan from the impact of which it will take years and much sacrifices to recover.

To save East Pakistan from ultimate economic ruin and further impoverishment, for capital formation in East Pakistan and for rapid industrial and economic

deforestation and draught in the northern zones of East Pakistan. Sometimes for scarcity due to non-import of parts of machineries production in industries is stopped or capacities are half utilised with the consequent fall in production in East Pakistan and the soaring high price of consumer goods in the market.

137, Thirdly, as imports in East Pakistan are not made according to the actual needs of the zone, some times it is found that the market of West Pakistan remains glutted with consumer goods though there prevails scarcity of such goods in East Pakistan. When there is nonavailability of life-saving medicines, X-ray plates and photo plates and papers even for the premier Medical College of East Pakistan, there was plenty of such things in West Pakistan markets and in some cases they had to be reimported or some times retranshipped from Karachi to Chittagong, earning more profits. Consequently, inter-zonal trade balance is widening, as it is evident that in 1963-64, East Pakistan exported goods of Rs. 51.12C and imported from West Pakistan goods of Rs. 89.53C, and in 1965-66, she imported goods worth Rs. 120.86C against her export of Rs. 65.18C.

138. Fourthly, exclusive priority is not given to the East Pakistani exporters and importers at the time of using licenses for the export and import for East Pakistan or for the use of bonus vouchers earned by export from East Pakistan for East Pakistanis only. Consequently, the non-East Pakistani has got monopoly of the bonus voucher's trade and barter trade in the socialist countries to the detriment of the capital formation in East Pakistan. Whatever profit these people make in East Pakistan, is transferred to their home or head office of business in West Pakistan. Even one West Pakistani business man was given import license from East Pakistan quota for importing cement from Eastern

exchange, export-import and the revenue of the province by the centre, and its meagre allocation for the economic development of East Pakistan. 8. With starved finance the deficit of the province to finance development of the province further impoverished her own financial resources. 9. Planning from the centre and control of the development agencies and financial resources agencies by the central government. 10. Fear of assesment of income tax on investible capital not on the basis of the income earned but on the basis of witch-hunting of the sources and of lump amount of income tax on district basis at the beginning of Pakistan which dampened the spirit and initiative in industrial ventures in East Pakistan. 11. Payment of income tax in West Pakistan on business and industrial concerns having head office in West Pakistan but earning profit in East Pakistan. 12. Flight of capital to West Pakistan in the forms of business profit, investment in West Pakistan by bankers and insurance companies of deposits and premiums collected in East Pakistan. 13. Interzonal trade deficit balance against East Pakistan and its consequential withdrawal and transfer of the equal amount of cash money along with profit from monetary circulation in the market of East Pakistan to West Pakistan. 14. Monopoly of export and import trade and commerce of East Pakistan and especially import from West Pakistan by west Pakistani business men who remove profits to West Pakistan. 15. Location of head office of managing agents and local agencies of foreign firms and business concerns in West Pakistan and consequential payment of income tax in and transfer of profit to West Pakistan. 16. Absence of loan and project sponsoring authorities or of sufficient powers and know-how of their sub-offices at Dacca and paucity of industrial finance from governmental and non-governmental or banking and financing agencies, retarding industrial enterprises and consequently, capital

development to make up leeways in disparity in the economic development between the two wings, the import and export business of the province together with the entire foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan must be provincialised forthwith.

141. FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR CAPITAL SHYNESS IN EAST PAKISTAN,

The following economic and administrative factors, man-made and natural, are the contributing causes for the capital shyness in East Pakistan. They are both the causes and effects in the whole economic phenomena.

1. The entire economy of both business and finance of the province was under the monopoly of the Hindus and Marwaris who left all after partition with the major portion of capital. The few marwaris who stayed in East Pakistan had systematically transferred their own capital and of others also through jute trade.
2. The capital growing sources like jute, tea and inland water transport were in the hands of foreigners and non-Bengalis and still they are monopolising them and are still transferring their capital either out side Pakistan or to the other wing of Pakistan.
3. The initial policy of the Central Government to industrialise West Pakistan and consequent neglect of both industry and agriculture of East Pakistan.
4. Concentration of both capital, export and import offices and houses in Karachi.
5. Policy of giving initial emphasis on commerce (import) by Central Govt. for years together at the beginning as an important source of revenue, as it fetched Rs. 54c by import out of Rs. 84c custom duties in 1952, thereby the entire benefits going to West Pakistan, as the bulk of the exporters and importers belonged to that province.
6. More import both in public and private sectors for West Pakistan than she exported, and more export from East Pakistan than she imported.
7. Control of the foreign

both the acknowledgement of the already existing dissimilar and different economic factors in the two wings with two different imports or economic values, and also the physical manifestation of the cumulative effects or precipitated results or by-products of the same or different economic policies haphazardly pursued in the two wings by the Central authority on considerations other than economic. And as such on proper diagnosis of the economic phenomena of both the wings, this theory of two-economy prescribes different doses of relief in the form of economic policies to the diseased economic factors of the two wings which are differently affected by the same policy. Even for the same disease similar dose of medicine may cure a man in one case and in another it may be fatal for the other—not to speak of the result where the cases are dissimilar. Economics of the two wings which, unevenly as they at present stand, suggest different economic treatment, caressing and pruning. Two economy theory only suggest some imperative principles to cure the economic ills of the two wings by adopting different economic, financial, fiscal, tariff and monetary policies and method, which have been successfully pursued in other civilised and economically advanced countries to solve similar problems under similar circumstances. It has no political motive, no interconnection what so ever. As the same fiscal policy (1966-67) of imposing excise duties on cotton yarns and salt in East Pakistan have virtually put the two cottage industries of hand looms and salt on the verge of collapse throwing one and a half million hands out of job. So also the same economic policy pursued by the Central Government in the two wings of Pakistan beset with two different and comparatively lesser or weaker economic factors, may act favourably, producing good results in west wing,

formation in East Pakistan. Situation would not have been aggravated so much if East Pakistan had not been deprived of the chance and requisite help in the initial period. 17. High cost of production due to high cost of fuel, power and transport. under-utilisation of capacity, high cost of machineries, imported on aid or loan money and not on cash foreign exchange which are not generally allotted to East Pakistan though she earns bulk of it. 18. P.I.D.C. at the initial stage under the fostering care of its then benign Chairman had helped naurish the capital formation in to few hands of West Pakistan in jute trade and industries in collusion or collaboration with the National Bank of Pakistan which was set up for the purpose of financing the jute growers during financial collapse of jute trade under the impact of devaluation of Indian Currency. 19. P. I. D. C. under the direction of Central Government had helped concentration of wealth and consequently capital formation in the hands of west Pakistanis by its disastrous and anti people disinvestment policy of selling public concerns on private negotiation to the capitalist without floating public limited companies and selling sbares to the public.

TWO-ECONOMY THEORY :

143. Another much controversial issue mostly considered on the level of politics, and least understood and discussed on economic plain is the two economy theory in Pakistan. The West Pakistani leaders and administrators seem to be too much nostralgically allergic to the idea. But to the East Pakistani it is the very basis of the demand for Economic and political autonomy of the province. But the cruel nature and the inhuman selfish economic instincts of some West Pakistanis have given rise to the idea and its physical existence in Pakistan. As an economic phenomenon it is

tan, the economic factors in East Pakistan present a most vulnerable and weak point compared to those of the West Pakistan. The most important economic factor in the National economy of a nation, affecting the standard of every body alike and the patriotic sense of oneness as a Nation is the value of its money which depends upon the constancy and equality of price index of goods, and services and gold. Here disparity in the price index of goods, both agricultural and industrial, whole sale and retail, value of gold, cost of production, cost of living and so standard of living, salaries of same rank of officers and wage of labour lead one to the logical conclusion that in Pakistan there exist two economeys with two values of the same rupee in the two wings. Living cost in term of price of goods in East Wing is higher by 36% than that of the West wing and consequently, the value of money in East wing is less by 30% than that of the West wing. The value of gold in East Pakistan is more than Rs. 160 per tola, whereas its price per tola is Rs 120 in West Pakistan and consequently, smuggling of gold into East Pakistan has become a lucrative business. How is it that two persons serving under the same Government and of the same rank but in two wings, will get the same amount of salary but the value of the money of one of them will be less by 30% than that of the other serving in the other wing? That shows that Pakistan has two economeys and the man with lesser value of money must be given extra allowance to make up the losses on ground of economic necessity and equity. This disparity in the value of money and price index is the result of the unequal developments of the two regions. The annual pumping of more than 500 crores of money by the Central Government's administrative and defence expenditure, along with development expenditure under the 1st & 2nd 5 year plans and other huge expenditure

but will produce a reverse and disastrous, crippling effect on the already existing weak economic factors of the East wing.

It is an apprehension, fanned and fancied in West Pakistan, and some in East Pakistan mistake it as a cloak to cover up and perpetuate economic exploitation of East Pakistan and think that if the West Pakistan capitalists and their political friends demonstrated only a fraction of their political patriotism in the field of economy, most of the political misunderstanding between the two wings would have disappeared. It has no political motive, no connection whatsoever with the creation of two different sovereign states. In a vast country where economic developments are unequal due to distance or natural paucity of development potentialities, different economic policies and measures are adopted to equalise and equally distribute the economic benefits of the country amongst the different regions, developed and underdeveloped. Even on purely economic reasons the slave trade which was thought unnecessary in the industrialised North America was thought economically indispensable for the agricultural economy of the South.

144. Economic Millenium through Industrial and economic development in West Pakistan or the Economic development of U.S.S.R. through expenditure of billions of dollars mean the same thing to the East Pakistan. Geographical separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan had stood in the way of capital or labour mobility from one wing to the other. As a result, no economic benefit has accrued to the people of East Pakistan from the huge economic development of West Pakistan done by Central Government expenditure of millions of Rupees. As a result of pursuing the different economic policies at the beginning and consequently less development of the economic potentialities of East Pakis-

goods are now allowed upto 80% of their value in East Pakistan as against 75% in West Pakistan. Preferential treatment has also been given to East Pakistan in matter of certain excise duties.

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SLOW PACE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF EAST PAKISTAN AND THEIR REMEDIES.

146. I have discussed in detail in the foregoing paragraphs the possible aspects of the economy and administrative factors responsible for the under development and slow progress of East Pakistan's economy. when summed up, they stand as follows :—

1. Centre's control over Province's sources of revenue, foreign exchange, foreign aids, export import trade and consequently East Pakistan is left with little finance for her development.

2. Centre's control over economic policies, development, planning and sanctioning and sponsoring feasibility of schemes, placing of funds and supply of development materials.

3. Centre's control over foreign aid loans, country's development funds, financing banks and institutions and industrial credits, from which East Pakistan got little help.

4. Absence of infra-structures necessary for rapid development of the overall economy of the province.

5. Short working season in East Pakistan and late placing of funds at the end of the financial year.

6. Administrative bottlenecks and bureaucratic procrastination.

7. Complete subserviency and dependence of the provincial development agencies on the Central development agencies both for planning and execution.

of Indus basin replacement works out side the ambit of the plan expenditures, has entailed multiple economic effects and further geared up the already bulging economy of the West Pakistan, which has created this imbalance in economic development and inequality in the value of goods and money in the two wings.

145. To cure this imbalanced and underdeveloped economy of East Pakistan different economic policies and ways are to be adopted, so that it could be brought up at least to the level of West Pakistan if not above that consistent with her natural economic potentialities and population ratio. The transfusion of extra doses of economic relief in the form of low tariff and import duties on capital and certain other goods necessary for rapid acceleration of industrial and commercial pace of development; suitable monetary policy with comparatively low Bank rates and more Industrial credits at low Interest rate; appropriation of the entire Foreign exchange earned by the export from East Pakistan in East Pakistan; more foreign aids for East Pakistan; shifting of head offices of Financing houses and development agencies in East Pakistan to sponsor and early sanction plans, projects and placement of funds in time, provincialisation of export and import trade and the last but not the least reallocation of the provincial sources of revenues hitherto controlled by the centre to help the province in restoring a self-sustaining and viable economy to accelerate the pace of her economic development. In fact the Central Government have already been pursuing different policies in East Pakistan based on 'two economy' theory. Tax holidays for periods between 4 to 6 years in East Pakistan as against 2 to 4 years in West Pakistan have been allowed. Import duty on machinery has been fixed at 20% in case of East Pakistan as against 25% in case of West Pakistan. Bank advances against imported

ment unquestioned, lack some time in experience of a wide range in matters of projects of considerable magnitude and on this score alone foreign agencies have to be approached for assistance in planning and designingPublic servants often play the role assigned to them under the service code planed and designed for a purpose unsuited to the present day needs, devotion to duty and loyalty to Government do not necessarily mean the efficiency edge of an employee in the fast developing and competitive world.....In fact, the role of developing a country should rest on the public under the supervision, assistance and guidance of Government as in all other advanced countries of the worldThe ice of delay and indecision in case of planning and design has to be broeken in any case.....last comes execution of works which unfortunately rarely conforms to the scheduled time, the excuses advanced some times unacceptable—are dearth of materials, transport handicaps. late placing of funds repeated references on trites and delayed go-ahead signals from the superiors, of course, the difficult terrain—the limited working season, the uncertain finance and the like factors are the main snags and however meticulously a project may be drawn up in East Pakistan difficulties are hound to react unfavourably on the way of smooth working for completion:... ..The colonial type of administration of the past in the way of Government going on its own by only feeding the public on publicity materials must go.....Correctly placed, people take precedence over Government who exist because of the former and not vice versa”.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AUTONOMY FOR EAST PAKISTAN

148. Sometimes lack of economic development in East Pakistan is attributed to the rapid changes of political

8. Bottleneck and underdevelopment of transport, communication and ports.

9. Diarchy over the Provincial administration.

10. Absence of responsibility either of the Cabinet to the legislature or people or of the administration to Cabinet under the country's Constitution.

147. Some times an ill-conceived attempt is made from advantageous position of the Central Government to shift burden of non-development entirely on the provincial administration for failure to utilise fund and for the consequent lapse of fund, the lack of absorbing capacity of the province, non submission of Projects in time etc. What ever might be the snags, facts remain that development has suffered with the consequent impoverishment of the province's economy which is evident in the limitless poverty and subhuman existence of the common people and as such instead of blaming any body or agency, the gravity of the situation and the consensus demand that proper diagnosis must be made with open mind and remedies provided without further delay. I have failed to resist the temptation of putting here the extracts from the observation based on practical experience, and made by no less a person than the Chairman of an autonomous development agency Published in an article in the Pakistan Observer dated September 5, 1966... "not only inefficiency but wrong motives as well are ascribed at times by the succeeding groups of man in power after a political party governing the country is toppled down and dispossessed by a band of new comers.....be he a Secretary or a Chairman of an Autonomous body, inspite of his proved ability he remains handicapped in disclosing the sources of troubles publicly under the public servants conduct rules. The number of Engineers & technical experts we have in East Pakistan, intelligence and academic attai-

franchise. When the political party-ministry is dependent on the Centre's pleasure, the position of the civil administration of East Pakistan is more precarious and helpless. They are more submissive and loyal to the Central Government than to the interest of the province for the security of their service.

2. PROVINCIALISATION OF PROVINCIAL ECONOMY AND FINANCES. The province must enjoy fiscal autonomy over her resources, foreign exchange, foreign aids, export-import trade and must have autonomous financial and credit institutions to foster development.

3. PROVINCIALISATION OF DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES. The province must have Autonomous Planning Board both for planning and execution of the same.

4. SOCIALISTIC ECONOMIC POLICY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF EAST PAKISTAN.

149. Economic development of the Province is one thing and economic welfare of the people of East Pakistan is another thing. By freeing economy of East Pakistan from the clutches of exploitation of the non-East Pakistani capitalists, her economy can develop even to the utmost as rapidly as possible under a systematic and co-ordinated plan but unless the benefits of the development and economic interest thus developed and generated are equally and equitably distributed among the people at large, it will simply mean the bartering about the unfortunate poor people of East Pakistan from one class of non-East Pakistani capitalist exploiters to another class of local capitalist exploiters of East Pakistan. The precaution and prudence demand that instead of creating further problems and leaving them to be solved in future, it is more rational that both economic development and socialistic economic policies should be

Governments or political instability in the province and their consequent delay or inability to take decision on plan and policies. There is some truth in it, no body should deny this. But the way the powerful economic interests of a certain section of people of a certain part of Pakistan has seized with the political power of the state that whatever might be the party, which may come to power in East Pakistan with a proclaimed economic policy of disintegrating that powerful economic vested interest acting behind the Central Government, with a view to broadbaseing the owner-ship and the distribution of the economic resources and benefits among the people, must incur the displeasure of the Central Government and finally must quit. No Government whose induction and continuance in power depends only on the satisfaction and the certificate of good conduct of the Central Government or its agent—the provincial Governor, and not on the consent or concensus of the majority of the people of the province, shall be stable in East Pakistan and consequently will fail to develop the province. Because of this, political autonomy must precede economic nuto-
 nomy which is meaningless without the former. No
 -palliative or sporadic development measures will do but simultaneously sweeping constitutional, political, administrative, economic and financial reforms are the imperative necessity for the rapid, balanced and harmonious economic development of Eass Pakistan on the following lines :—

1. PROVINCIALISATION OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION. East Pakistan must have political autonomy, where the government shall hold and continue in power not on the whim of the Central Government but on the will and confidence of the majority
 . people of the East Pakistan, expressed through periodically held democratic and free election on general adult

CHAPTER

IV

BASIC DEMOCRACY

150. The system of Union Board owes its origin to the local Self Government Act of 1917 which was introduced as a part of Constitutional reform in the British India by the British Govt. The British introduced this system in response to the Indian freedom struggle for "Home Rule" on the plea of providing a preliminary ground for training in the arts of self-Government before achievement of full independence. Indian national reaction to this system was that it was a bye-way of punishment as a price for demanding independence, and an ingenious contrivance, befitting the colonial genius of the British, to get the Indians broiled and bogged down in local mundane and petty matters of minor importance and interest, by setting up a strong band of self-interested village hierarchy under the direct fostering care and control of the Government officials specially created therefor; and ultimately to divert the people—the general mass—from the freedom struggle that was directed to drive out the British from the British India, with the active help and propagandas of the so-newly created Union Board machineries. It was given the right to collect Chaukidari taxes with which it maintained few village Chaukidars who had to act as helpers to the police. To all intents and purposes, it was a mere part of the British administration stretching to the remotest corner of the country

followed *pari-passu* in East Pakistan in order to develop the economic potentialities of the province as well as for the improvement of the economic position of the teeming millions of the Province.

system of lambardars, who were more than mere revenue collectors of the government. In fact, they were all in all in the country side. They were the important agents of the Government, Police agents, and in the name of protecting and maintaining law and order in their areas they very well occupied the place of oppressors and were reactionary to all progressive ideas, movements and people's rights. The people—general mass—who have no social, political and economic rights and completely live on the mercy of the feudal lords, having no occupancy right in the land, were completely subservient to and oppressed by these land lords. So the U.B. system did not strike its root in West Pakistan, as it did in East Pakistan. In 1957, the Awami league government in East Pakistan abolished the system of nomination from U.B. s and subjected all the members including the Chairman of the U.B. to the people's vote of the area in general. As a result, the U.B. was made an independent local self-Government unit, freed from the clutches of the unlawful interference of the local officers. So at least in the formative stage of the U.B, the official hand will have no say or control and the people's elected man, who will naturally be an independent spirited, honest, able and popular man, will become Chairman of the U.B. In addition to that, to stop corruption and punish the corrupted U.B. president, in the functional stage of the U.B., the Government introduced a special judicial system and procedure under which a newly appointed special Judge would try the incumbents of these U.B. s under special laws. So the U.B. system in East Pakistan under the amendment of the local self-Government Act, 1957, appeared very like the short replica of the U.S.A. government in point of constitution and administration

and its duty was to act as Police informer mainly for the suppression of the freedom struggle. It was made a citadel in the country side for corruption and reactionary forces. The Government controlled the U. Bs, under the administrative supervision and control of S. D. Os and Circle Officers. The all-important weapon of controlling these machineries and of compelling their obedience to the Government, was through the system of nomination to be given by the Government at the formation stage of these U. B. bodies. The number of nominated members were more than those elected by the people on limited franchise. Naturally the man who was in the good book of the S. D. O, and who could act more subservient against the interest of the freedom movement and popular demands of the people, would be blessed with the support of the nominated members and would consequently become the President of the local body of his union. These Presidents became the liaison-men between the people and the colonial Government against the people and the national political leaders fighting for them, and they acted as powerful agents for collecting votes by unwholesome coercive methods from the people in favour of the Government nominees. The remnants of Civil Service under the British regime were the main guiding force in formulating and guiding the policies and administration of Pakistan even after partition, as they were specially adept in manipulating and utilising the U.B. machineries to the utmost in the interest of the then ante-people regime of the British, specially in the field of collecting votes for the Government nominees. The entire Bengal was honeycombed with these U.B. machineries as parts of local self-Government.

151. Its counterpart in West Pakistan was the system of panchayet in a few places, but now supplanted by the

amount of unaudited money, mostly received from the counter part fund under PL-480 account of the U.S.A. Government under the over all charge, supervision and control of the circle officers (development) who are posted on thana basis.

TEST OF DEMOCRACY

152. Now let us see how far the indirect system of election under the system of 'Basic democracy' stands the test of modern democracy, as practised in the rest of the civilised states of the world. The overall acknowledged principles adopted and observed universally in the matter of election to the office of the highest executive or to the state legislature under democracy are in the main the following (1) Universal suffrage (2) Free and unfettered expression of the mind of the voters in the free exercise of the political franchise, (3) less possibility of corruption both in the exercise of franchise and in the election machineries. (4) Freedom of press and expression and (5) Free play of political parties.

Universal suffrage Vs. Basic democracy : In Pakistan both direct election and universal franchise have been replaced by indirect election through basic democracy—the members of the Union councils who are only 80,000. The plea that the people of Pakistan have not attained maturity in the exercise of political franchise does not stand the test of logic, as the very state of Pakistan was the conscious product of the democratic mind of the people. It was the people who achieved Pakistan not through bullet but through the judicious and calculated political exercise of ballot. Thank God that the colonial British did not discover this plea and did not think proper to borrow this idea from the architect of the system in Pakistan to thwart the result of the

152. Now suddenly in 1959, this very Union Board system was simply converted into Union Council by changing nomenclature, with two main fundamental changes of far-reaching and disastrous consequences on the life of the 110 million people of Pakistan and on the fate of democracy. The clock of progress set about in 1957 was set back and the notorious nomination system, introduced by the colonial British, was again introduced in the Union Council whose Chairman was to be elected by the elected and nominated members and not by the people. Even in the initial stage a certain number of officials too were nominated to the U. C. The elected bodies that were in vogue in the District Board and Municipalities were abolished and public servants were nominated as the Chairman of these bodies. The number of these U. Cs is more than 8000 thousands in both the wing of Pakistan. The number of members to these bodies is 80,000 (now extended to 120,000)-Electoral College for indirect election in Pakistan for the first time was constituted with these members of U. Cs. The political and administrative systems of Pakistan have been laid out on these 80,000 union Councillors who are by courtesy called at the time of election the basic democrats forming the 'Electoral College'. The 110 million people of Pakistan has been disenfranchised and these 80,000 basic democrats have been made under the law the only legal voters for the 4-stage election—firstly, they are the only authorised voters to elect President of the Pakistan State, secondly, they elect members to the National Assembly, thirdly, they elect members to the Provincial Assembly and fourthly they elect the members of the District Council etc. After their duty as electors is over, they are to function as Union council members, a Government statutory body charged with the development of the local areas with the vast

A vain analogy is drawn from the U.S.A. system of indirect election. In U.S.A., the President is elected indirectly by an electoral college, but the House of Representative and the Senate are elected by direct election. Previously the Senate was elected by the indirect election. There was no party system working nor the framers of the American Constitution could conceive of the future possibility of election through political party nomination at the time of framing the Constitution. With the growth of political party system with years, it was found that the people of U.S.A. were politically divided on the basis of political party's programmes and they voted both in the Electoral college and in the direct election to the lower house for their respective party nominees—thus making the dual system, one of direct and the other of indirect election and the holding of two successive elections—one for the President and the upper house (previously) through indirect election of electoral college and the other for the lower house directly by the people, meaningless, superfluous, redundant and expensive. The idea of Montesquieu's separation of power and the maintenance of balance of powers amongst the three organs of government—the executive, the legislature and the judiciary—guided the framers of the U.S.A. Constitution to frame their Constitution on the same basis. But subsequent working of the Constitution under the changed circumstances brought about by the growth of political party system in U.S.A., has shown that if the people voted loyally and honestly for their respective party—nominees both in the Electoral College and in the Congress election, the political party having confidence of the majority of the people would get elected to both the highest executive, the President, and the majority members of the house of Representatives from its own nominees. If the people of the electoral college voted differently and elected the President from

1946 election which was held on the Pakistan issue. The same people were thought politically matured to exercise universal franchise in the elections of 1937, of 1946 and even of 1954 but suddenly they had lost political intelligence and commonsense in Pakistan though they had progressed since then in percentage of literacy and political consciousness. For argument's sake it is said that the general mass are not wise enough to elect wise people to the legislature and a wise man as their President. So they will elect a bad of wise people who will elect in their turn still wiser people to the legislature. How the same set of people who can not elect wise people to the legislature can send wise people to the electoral college? It is more likely in the nature of the thing that a greater fool will be elected by so many "fools" out of class sympathy and in effect the greater dishonest and crafty village touts would get elected to the electoral College by exploiting and influencing the few people within the limited area. It is no less illogical that a hatch of people turn fool merely because they are larger in number and grow wise merely because they are less in number.

154. Experience has shown that in all possibility quite a contrary result is obtainable in democracy, as a consensus of opinion is assured by a free and frank discussion of political issues of the country among the general mass of people and there is less chance of corrupting the vast number of voters. As Aristotle had said, 'Individually a man may be a superman, a genius and intellectually he is by far superior to the general mass, taken individually, but collectively the average intelligence and common sense of the people are by far superior to and more dependable than that of the superman.'

in anyway, but under the over-all control and supervision of the political party, either for its formation or for its functioning. But in Pakistan the so-called electoral college consists of the 80,000 thousand basic democrats who are no other persons than the Union Council members. They are given travelling and food allowances for attending project meeting, a novel device for hearing the Presidential candidates. The Chairman of the Union Council is a paid Government servant under the law. The Union Council is all the year round an administrative organ charged with administrative and economic functions of the State. It is under the direct control of the Government officials, specially created therefor under the law. It deals with huge amount of public money for development works. The election is conducted by the government officials. Under the circumstances to expect free exercise of mind and franchise of the basic democrats in the election is to expect the jack fruit tree bearing mango fruits.

SCREENING OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

156. Possibility of corruption in indirect system of election where the number of voters is very limited, is greater in the chance of corruption and tampering of election than in direct system of election where the voters are many in number. Under the electoral college system a candidate who can command a hundred votes in the National Assembly election or fifty votes in the Provincial Assembly election can easily get himself elected. Consequently, corruption has become so much rampant that money is the only criterion and the determining factor in winning the election under the present system of election in Pakistan. The basic democrats during their tenure of office reap rich harvest five times in the elections of the (1) President (2) the National Assembly, (3) the Provincial Assembly, (4) the district Council (5) and the Chairman of

a party other than the party which holds majority in the House of Representatives, perpetual constitutional and administrative deadlock would continue and the people of U.S.A. are very much conscious of this fact, and as such throughout the history of American democracy only once this sort of constitutional anomaly had occurred. To obviate this constitutional anomaly the amendment of the Constitution (1913) has provided for direct election to the upper house too, and the amendment of the Constitution of U.S.A to provide direct election for the President is under active Consideration both of the people and the Congress.

FREE UNFETTERED EXERCISE OF MIND AND FRANCHISE AND BASIC DEMOCRACY.

155. The other fundamental essence of democracy is that people is the sovereign authority and the government derives its legal and political authority to govern the people from the people themselves through periodically held election and as such, in order to make the government truly representative of the people and its laws the true expression of the effective demands and interests of the people, the people must have freedom of choice, mind and conscience regardless of any fear or favour, illegal and immoral economic self-interests in electing their real representatives through election. This all-essential character for the exercise of the democratic franchise is wanting in the basic democracy system. In U.S.A, the electoral college is formed before the general election of the country and it becomes a *functus officio* after the indirect election is over. Essentially it is a temporary political organ, forming a part of U.S.A. Constitution solely for the purpose of electing the President and is never encumbered with administrative, economic, judicial or local self Government duties of whatever kind. It is not under the control or supervision of the U.S.A. Administration

issued by different parties. The obvious benefit will be at once revealing reflecting the political will of the people and acting as corruption checking. As in U.S.A., the result of the Electoral college election clearly reveals the result of the future election of the President which has been rendered a mere formality, so also in Pakistan the result of the electoral college will reveal at once who will be the President and to which party he will belong and there will be no scope of corruption among the basic democrats either in changing parties or voting to any other party nominee on getting money. So if the present Constitution with indirect system of election is retained in Pakistan against the will of the people, then in order to counteract or eliminate the obvious dishonest benefit accruing from such a system two constitutional safeguard must be inserted into the Constitution. Number one is that the political parties shall contest basic democracy or electoral College election by issuing party ticket to their nominees and the second is that clause (3) of the Political Parties Act, 1962 shall be extended to the basic democracy election too, where the change of parties after the election of electoral college will cost the members of the membership of Electoral college and fresh election in his constituency shall have to be held afresh and the old member shall be debarred from seeking fresh election for years together. In the election of the Electoral college, the nominees of the party who secure majority will simply take oath like the president of the state, but the names of the Presidential candidates of the different parties must be declared along with the names of the other nominees to the electoral college election before its election. After the election of the electoral college which will be fought on party basis, subsequent elections to the Presidential office will be redundant unless any other ulterior motive of ultimately tampering with the election by the outgoing President whose party

the Union Council. Instances are not rare that before election to the Union Council they gave pledge on oath to the people that should they be elected they would vote for a particular Presidential candidate, but after getting elected they went back on the pledge and as there is no law to enforce that pledge, the so-called democracy has become a farce and vote a purchasable commodity in Pakistan. Writing on the horror of corruption indulged in a by-election recently held to the National Assembly at Karachi, a foreign correspondent, Ralph Joseph has said "it makes one stop to think of the incalculable damage the regime may be doing in the country by tenaciously sticking to the system that is so palpably open to corruption."

157. The opposition political parties have been subjected to various restrictions under the Political Parties Act of 1962. The President and his party can freely utilise government machineries such as radio, T.V. publicity machineries and officers and the opposition parties are deprived of even publicity. Under clause (3) of the said Act no member after election, elected on any party ticket, can change his party without losing his seat. One finds no reason why that restriction has been left confined to the members of the Provincial and National Assemblies and has not been extended to the elected members of the Union Councils who form the Electoral College. The President of Pakistan is a political man and heads a Political party. So the election to the Electoral College which will elect the President of the State should be held on the basis of political party programmes and manifestos. As the members of the Provincial and National Assemblies are identifiable after election as to which party they belong, so the basic democrats also must be made identifiable after the election of the Electoral College which shall be held on the tickets

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT :

159. Now let us examine the forms of Govt, as envisaged in the Constitution of Pakistan 1962. At the apex of the Government there is an executive head called the President who is not elected by universal adult franchise but by an electoral college. He is neither responsible to the people, nor to the legislature. So in appearance it seems to be a Presidential type of Government. He has got a Cabinet of ministers who are neither elected by the people nor by the electoral College but are appointed by the President. They are not responsible to the legislature but to the president himself, But like the Ministers under the cabinet system of Govt. they appear in the legislature and explain Government policies and answer questions put by the members of the legislature. But neither they can hold membership of the legislature nor are they responsible to it. The Country has a National Assembly neither elected by the people nor is it responsible to them. Neither the President nor the Cabinet nor the administration are responsible to the legislature. The legislature has neither the control over the finance and the major portion of the laws of the country nor over its administration. Country is governed by ordinance than by laws of the legislature and the legislature has no constitutional right to amend these ordinances even. In their ultimate analysis it will be found that the country does not possess under the Constitution a responsible executive as found under the presidential form of Government, or a responsible cabinet as found under the parliamentary form of government, or a responsible legislature as found under any democratic form of Government. In the constitutional scheme nowhere there is any place of the people who are alone the Sovereign authority in the State. In U.S.A, separation of

failed to secure majority in the electoral college. In the last Presidential election of Pakistan, 1965, all parties combinedly set up their candidates for the electoral college election but the President's political party, Convention Muslim League did not for some obvious reasons. In the Presidential and the National and provincial Assembly elections the political parties shall hold election amongst electoral college members, elected on their respective party ticket to each constituency, and the members securing the highest number of votes among the different parties, candidates shall be declared elected. If only these two political safeguards are sought to be incorporated in the present Constitution, surely both the universal adult franchise and the direct election will automatically come to the people of Pakistan. The whole edifice of the irrational democracy will crumble down, once its foundation—the basic democracy is rescued from the clutches of the government office and Officers and are elected on political issues and same political level, independent of the election of union Council.

FREE PRESS AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION.

158. Fundamental rights of the people of Pakistan are not justiciable in the Court of law. By various press and publication Acts and ordinances, the Government are gagging the free expression of news and views on important political issues usually concerning the interests of the nation. The Public Safety Act and now the Defence of Pakistan rules are frequently issued to suppress opposition parties and political opponents who are detained in prison for years together without any trial. Under the circumstances no form of democracy can flourish in Pakistan, much less the present already restricted form of sham democracy in vogue in Pakistan.

diction, and by subjecting the High Court judges to interview before the executive for selection and appointment. He has arrogated to himself the right of passing *ex post facto* law, a law making an action a crime which had not been a crime when it was done.

160. On careful scrutiny one will find that the form of Government in Pakistan is neither Presidential nor cabinet, nor parliamentary, but a hybrid of all the forms of Government taken together. By all canons of democracy it stands in a class by itself. It is an enigma to the court of law for judicial scrutiny and interpretation under any norms of constitutional jurisprudence or concepts. The same unseen hand rules, administers and legislates. The President himself is the Alfa and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last in the administrative and legislative structures of the constitution of the country. It very well reminds one of the famous parable, "Voice is the voice of Jacob but the hands are the hands of Esau". If any body peeps through a glass of prison into the whole artificial super structure of his democracy in Pakistan, he will find different rainbow colours in the forms of different organs of government—the executive, the cabinet, the legislature and the judiciary, but on further careful scrutiny one will find that as all rainbow-colours emanate and emit from the same source having no independent existence of their own and are but the mere refraction in prison of the same solar spectrum, so also these different governmental organs are but the refractions in different forms and colours of the same supreme power—the legendary figure of the President whose lengthening and invisible hands work through these different functionaries. The central force of this hybrid democracy derives its inspiration from the long discarded nineteenth century concept of the state authority of one nation—one state—one Go-

power and balance of powers are strictly maintained and as the President is the administrative head of the State, the judiciary has been made all-powerful organ to act as guardian of the constitution, to maintain the constitutional right of one organ of government against the aggression of any other, to interpret laws and Constitutional matters or to declare any law ultra vires of the constitution and finally to jealously guard the people's fundamental Civil, political and constitutional rights against the encroachment of the state. The President administers the State but he is controlled by the Congress through its power over finance. The President legally makes appointment to almost all the high posts, and declares war and makes treaties, but these are all subject to the ratification of the senate. But in Pakistan the President rules over the country without being either elected by the people or being responsible to them or to the legislature.

Contrary to all canons of democracy, "no taxation without the consent of the people's representatives", the President raises finance and spends without the consent of the legislature which has only constitutionally limited power over certain aspect of finance. He legislates through ordinances whose number exceeds that of legislative laws. His appointments to topmost posts, be it administrative or judicial are not subject to the approval of the legislature. He makes treaties behind the back of the people or without the knowledge of the legislature. The recent Taseknt agreement with India is a case in point. Even the independence of the judiciary has been transgressed by taking over the right of appointment and transfer of the judicial officers on the district level. The jurisdiction of the Court has been seriously curtailed and fundamental rights of the people and certain laws have been taken off from its juris-

Government. But the so-called stability of the Government should not be confused or misconstrued with the perpetuity of a personal rule under the dictatorial form of Government whose perpetuity or stability owes not so much to the voluntary political consent and obedience of the people or the observance of the general civilised rules and principles of modern democracy as to the lack of peaceful means provided under the democracy for a peaceful change. As the whole structure of the system of government is based on the basic democrats who are his creation and serve under him as important part and functionaries of his government and the so-called legislature and cabinet are his creation, depending upon him for their very existence, there is no body on earth save the President himself and the Providence and no peaceful democratic means whereby to change him or his Government. Truth and moral virtues are the criterion of judging the permanency and stability of a thing or a system. A system, be it political or ethical, which stands in inverse ratio to the moral growth and virtues of the nation, is never stable but a perverse one which will bring only ultimate disaster on that nation. By frequent adjustment of administrative machineries and by constitutional set-ups, and by sorting and regrouping of the pawns in the political chessboard one can manage to continue his personal rule, but hardly he can procure the certificate of stability for his Government. In fact the personnels of his Government have changed more frequently than the changes of the ministries before 1958. The whole fortune of the country has been tagged to the fortune of a single man in Pakistan. The security of the country lies in our establishing as a fact that we can have a system, independent of accident of any man of destiny, so that if the man catches cold, the whole nation shall not sneeze. A Gov-

vernment and one national dictatorial leader—the President himself. All other things including the people, which is a mere abstract conception like a lifeless tool, must be made to order, tinned, geared up, created or recreated and constantly adjusted under the stress of personal needs even with the mutually antagonistic and exclusive principles, forms and character, to suit the overall system of pattern of the administration which is to ensure beyond any doubt the constancy and continuity of his personal rule. All other outward forms and norms of his so-called democracy are but a facade or a camouflage of normal democracy to hoodwink the people of Pakistan in particular and the World at large and to make a mock show that democracy with all its paraphernalias—the organs of executive, the cabinet, the legislature, the judiciary and the provision of periodical election exists in Pakistan. But in fact, it is a chaff of democracy without any grain in it. Within the four years of its introduction, the country has seen as many as seven amendments of the Constitution.

PEACEFUL CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT AND STABILITY OF GOVERNMENT.

161. As people alone is the sovereign authority in the state, so it is their inherent political right to set up any government or to change and replace it by another according to their choice. And democracy is the only form of government which provides peaceful means for such peaceful change through periodically held election, based on universal adult franchise. Democracy provides the sure check against the sudden and violent change or upheaval caused by military coup or revolution which are the only alternative means of changing other forms of Governments that are not based on the principles of democracy. It is said that the present form of Government in Pakistan has blessed the country with stable

comes the axiom of life and motive force of the nation and, as such, the nation as a whole rises to the zenith intellectually and morally, free from the bondage of one-man rule. In the other system of government where the political and administrative fortune of the individual depends upon the personal whims and caprices or graces and satisfaction of one man, people with lesser calibre, with the only qualification of unquestioned allegiance, opportunism and flattery, are lifted up from the common level by that all-powerful man. As a result, the country becomes full of the plethora of the political gullibles and perversus, fortune-hunters and opportunists, and the National character is lost for ever. The man of talents gives place to the pander. The surprising rapidity at which these political lampoons and fortune hunters rise like the meteoric luminaries in the political horizon of Pakistan for the shortest possible time only to strut and fret for some hours to the tune of their great master and then to vanish in to a limbo of obscurity, is a matter of belief to the outside world, but in Pakistan it is a regular feature in the political dramas of the country. So much shortlived is the rendezvous of these picked up apologies for ministers that if even before catching cold the President sneezes, the ministers not only caught but drop down like the withered leaves at the approach of winter. Tons of tears may be shed after their dropdown, but that is no consolation or compensation for the great injury caused to the nation during the transition period of their sojourn.

163. The essence of democracy is that it helps character building of the nation. It enlarges its vision and outlook. It fosters universal brotherhood, amity and friendship among nations. It arouses interest of the people in the affairs of the nation. It stimulates intelligence

ernment comes and a Government goes, but the nation continues. We should have such a system of Government in which the political wisdom and tradition of the nation could continue in transmission to future Government and posterity, undisturbed and unaffected, irrespective of the political idiosyncracies and accident of any political hero, however a genius, a man of power or a man of destiny he might be.

162. Democracy is essentially a people's national political workshop, which must be nationalised for all practical purposes, so that it belongs to the entire nation and each and everybody must have the right to work it out. In the process of its working out, the genius and the other human qualities and virtues with which every human being is born and which remain latent and dormant due to lack of favourable fostering forces in the society, get the fullest possible scope, freedom and facilities for development to a organic and dynamic whole to the immense benefit of the nation. Democracy provides the fructifying ground for blossoming of a man's genius and talents. They are pushed up by the people from the bottom to the highest rung of the ladder in the hierarchy of administrative and political offices according to their proved and publicly acknowledged worth and capacity and the nation as well as the entire humanity are benefitted by the full play of their virtues and talents. In democracy all means for unfolding and fostering human geniuses and talents are nationalised and are thrown open to all free from any reservation. The whole nation is galvanised and thrilled with the freedom of intellectual and moral activities provided in the full play of the most talented and the virtuous elements. There is no scope for the devil to take the hindmost and no scope for any favouritism and nepotism. Survival of the fittest based on equal opportunities be-

risers and to the deaf—man never speaks. Democracy is not a thing to be perceived by visual senses like a physical structure of the High Court of Dacca. It is a way in which things behave. As a planet spins in the gravitational field of the sun, so all the democratic paraphernalias should swirl round the President, and as nothing but the sun is visibly moving through visual perception (or deception), so also the President alone should be the object visible in the whole show of democracy of his conception. But in a mundane world of ours a normal man can not conceive a thing like democracy existing without any form. It is not a synonym for any thing abstruse to him. In that case there will be a chaos and endless controversy over the individual conceptions of democracy—its definition and functional harmonies. To a normal man democracy is not only a function but functionaries too, as its stress and strain are experienced every moment of its existence by the people. So democracy will not only exist in the conception of mind but must exist in form also. Justice will not only be done but it must also be shown to have been done,

165. It is vainly claimed that no particular form of democracy suits the genius of all the people of the world. It is not a ready-made garment to fit every nation, nor is it a straight jacket. So no two democracies should equate in norms and forms. Therefore in his democracy, as for cabinet he has one responsible to him for its appointment and action and as for legislature, yes he has one, but neither elected by the people nor responsible to them nor with any control over administration. And people, yes, it exists but in abstract conception. In fact, the architect of the democracy has no clear conception about norms and forms which, to all intents and purposes, are the clear outcome of the manoeuvring of

love for the neighbour and sharing pains and pleasures of the nation equally. It teaches the individual to dedicate himself to the cause of the nation, and to devote selflessly to the services of his neighbours. It enlivens and galvanises the great inert masses with the spirit of sacrifice and enthuse them with political consciousness to make them right minded. It kindles the sense of responsibilities and rights in the citizens, which act as the only deterrent to social and political corruption. Above all it teaches the people tolerance, peace and respect for each other's views. By democratic evolutionary methods it helps people absorb the shock of new ideas and reforms. But all these essential qualities of nation-building are absent in a dictatorial form of government.

PHILOSOPHY BEHIND THE PAKISTANI DEMOCRACY.

164. Men of genius are not accustomed to walking in the rut or the beaten track. But one's sense of proportion is of the lowest water-mark if he equates macrocosm with microcosms. Philosophy of Pakistani democracy is chiselled with subtle sophistry and tinged with jingoistic strategy of camouflage. Following the Motazillaites, that Islam does not exist in forms but in esoteric spirit only, and conforming to the philosophy of Democrats that colour and shapes of things exist but in impression or opinion only subjectively in mind, and not in reality, merely as a construction of consciousness, it is claimed by the architect of Pakistan democracy that his conception of democracy does not conform to any particular form and that it can not be even understood or perceived unless people's consciousness is sufficiently matured and developed.

Pressed to its logical conclusion this self-deluding argument would mean that to a blind man the sun never

very bad case. But President Ayub is to argue his case of democracy not before a High Court presided over probably by half a dozen judges, but before the court presided over by 110 millions of people—his nation in particular and the whole world at large, whose eyes have remained transfixed to see the findings on his invasion of democracy,

167. His conception of democracy as the product attainable only on the maturity of people's consciousness is a theory long before exploded and discarded. In fact, it was none of his invention but the British trained anti-people civil servants headed by the late exiled ex-President of Pakistan, Mr. Iskender Mirza, who imbibed the idea only as a means to prolong his hegemony from the so-called 'controlled democracy' expounded by his big brother Mr. Sukarno—the once life-President of Indonesia. But as ill luck would have it, in the mother country of its birth, before the growth and maturity of the consciousness of the people of Indonesia about the 'controlled democracy' of Sukarno, his own life presidency had prematurely ended with the scrapping of the phantom of the controlled democracy itself from the body politics of the country, but it has brought political and economic nemesis in its train only, as inevitable in the system.

168. Unfolding of the whole Universe with its manifold possibility and munificence had been accomplished through ceaseless struggle against the coercive and wild forces of nature by the ingenuities of human civilisation. And the unfolding of human genius and the accretion of human civilisation had been possible as a result of ceaseless struggle through ages against the rock beds of reactionary forces—the kings, the ecclesiastic perverts, the autocrats, the dictators, and other scourges of humanity, which had in vain tried to turn back

political expediency. But of one thing his mind seems to be very clear and that is the negative side of democracy, as practised by the Pakistani politicians since the very beginning of the new state. There is no denying the fact that democracy was never given a fair play in Pakistan. Whosoever might be the person or persons to be blamed or at whose instance they toyed with democracy, the fact remains that the root of democracy was never allowed to strike into the soil of Pakistan. But the apologists of democracy taking shelter behind the shadow of democracy exploited the politically inert and economically frustrated ignorant mass. Better talents and patriots were kept at bay from the arena of national politics, which was kept as the exclusive preserve or sanctuary for the politicians-in-power themselves. Democracy was physically strangled by safety act and by muzzling of free press and views. Ultimate success of democracy depends upon the standard of the mental and moral development and the sense of national interests of the political leaders of political parties who are generally nostalgically allergic to accommodating the talented people of superior calibre. It also largely depends upon the free and responsible national press. All these conditions of democracy are as conspicuous by their absence in the present regime as they were in varying degrees in the previous regimes.

166. But the President of Pakistan seems to have misconceived the shortcomings of some of the politicians of Pakistan to be the shortcomings of democracy itself. The foolishness or weakness of a man is never the wisdom or strength of another. But like a shrewd lawyer he wants to win the case of his brand of democracy by hypnotising the judges, loudly harping on the weak points of the opponent without revealing his own good points, if any. But this generally happens with a

CHAPTER

V

PAKISTANI NATIONHOOD

169. If Pakistanis are a nation or in other words, if Pakistan is a nation-state or a multi-nations-state. Political writers define a nation as a group of community of people bound by a common bond of homogeneity of racial blood, culture, language, religious faith, history and tradition, either living in a particular geographical area and politically organised under its own independent national government or aspiring to be independent of foreign rule. Under alien rule a subjugated race or a nation with a distinct and separate culture, language and civilisation can not get full scope and opportunity to develop its genius, its mental and moral faculties and social and economic interests. In the later part of the 19th century and the first part of the 20th century this guiding principle of 'one nation-one state' provide a strong lever and logic for the general mass and racial political consciousness which ultimately prevailed over the colonial and Empire countries, and after the first and the second World war the big empires crumbled into pieces and out of them were born a large number of mono-nation state. Nevertheless few of the old or the newly built nations conformed in their composition to the above mentioned norms and definition of a nation. It is not rare to find that there are many states which are composed of more than one nation with distinct and separate cultures and other national characteristics, and there are many nations also, who have a common bond

the hand of the clock of time. Episodes like the Calvary and Golgathas could serve only as a crowing example of human follies, but they failed to stem the tide of the marches of time and change the course of human history and civilisation. Democracy, which is the highest kind of contrivance of human genius and the product of experience of trials and tribulations through ages, has provided a vehicle and impetus and a subjective and an objective condition for such development of human dignity, personality, genius and civilisation. History is replete with instances that any deviation from the golden rule of the working schemes, the product of human genius, had simply multiplied and prolonged the pains of extinction of the nation. Time and tide wait for none. If Pakistan is to contribute to the common pool of humanity and human civilisation, she must get her 110 million souls and minds redeemed from the bondage of regimentation of thought, mental stagnation and political and economic enslavement and the principle of unfettered and undiluted democracy, which knows no geographical or national boundaries, must be restored to the pristine position of glory to bless the people of Pakistan.

toric time—the culture of Mohenjodaro of 5000 years B.C. Their national history begins from the conquest of Sind by Cyrus—the Emperor of Persia in 500 years B.C. and that of Alexander in 326 B.C. After conquest by Charles Napier in 1846, Sind continued as part of Bombay province till it was made a separate province in 1936. Sindhis get inspiration from the poetic genius of Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit.

171. The Beluchis who inhabit the distinct territory of the western part of West Pakistan possess a separate culture, language and historical tradition. Ethnologically they are quite a separate race different from the rest of Pakistan. Biologically they belong to the Brahui Moghuls and Beluchi Aryans.

172. The inhabitants of the North-West Province are called the Pathans. They are a race by themselves with a distinct and quite separate language, culture, tradition and history. Ethnically they belong to the blood of the Tartar tribes of the Central Asia. They are divided into many tribes and sects, they speak the same Postu. language and the main characteristic of this race is that they are very much independence-loving people and had never shouldered foreigner's guns to kill other's independence. The people of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent owe a special debt of gratitude to this group of 'simpleton' humanity of whom the present civilisation had not succeeded in corrupting the human qualities, such as their love and pragmatic sense of independence, trustworthiness, religious faith and traditional hospitality. They would for ever occupy a glorious chapter of the freedom-struggle of Indo-Pak-sub-continent against the British Imperialist.

173. The Muslim mass of the Punjab—the land of the five rivers and the recruiting ground of mercena-

of blood, culture, civilisation, tradition, language and geographical contiguity, but are divided and constituted into separate independent states. There may be a community of people with a distinct culture, tradition, ethnical homogeneity and an ideological faith, who may constitute a nation though they may have no geographical territory to live in. The Jews as a community was such a wandering nation so long without any territorial state, who have been of late rehabilitated in Palestine. A community of people with a distinct ideological faith and philosophy of life, though living as citizens in different independent states may yet constitute a nation. The Muslims, the Christians and the communists are such nations. Many races with distinct ideological faith and other national characteristics now a days claim to constitute a nation though living in independent states along with other races with dissimilar national characteristics and ideologies. If every race was to constitute a nation and every nation was to constitute a nation state, then the entire world would have been divided into a plethora of multi-racial-states—many times larger in number than their present number with obvious confusion, animosities and chaos.

170. After partition Pakistan comprised of five British Indian provinces—the Punjab, Sind, Beluchistan, North-West Frontier Province and East Bengal. The colonial British Government for administrative purposes divided British India into several Provinces, comprising areas having different historical and geographical entities and traditions and inhabited by people with distinct and separate biological and cultural, linguistic, and other idiosyncracies. The people of Sind, the Sindhis, call themselves a separate race having a distinct ethnical origin, historical tradition and separate language and culture, called the Sindhi culture, which dates back to prehis-

independence, even defeating the great Moghul imperial armies and navy. Ilyas Shah defeated Firoj Shah of Delhi. Emperor Jahangir had given the number of the war-boats of the then independent Bengal as many as 5000. It was annexed by Akbar, the great Moghul Emperor. It regained independence again and finally lost it to the British in 1757 on the treachery of the people who were outsiders.

175. The resurgence of culture of Muslim Beng from the overall domination of the Hindu culture and tradition was stimulated by the culture and tradition the Muslims though its claim to separate nationalism essentially geographic. Its nationality is racial, but culture is essentially and traditionally Islamic or Muslim an important and preponderating overriding factor in constituting a multi-racial nation conjointly with other races with similar muslim culture and traditions. Special geographical feature and climate of East Pakistan has differently moulded the character and mind the Bengalis with distinct and contradictory traits and bias. Natural barriers of river, lack of communication and fatalistic outlook—the offspring of deeply rooted religious fanaticism and bigotry—are largely responsible for conditioning their character of exclusiveness, in temperament, less painstaking, more talkative and less active habits, jealousy and volatility, lack of persistence and determination. Nature has made them somewhat physically weak and enervating, but mentally very alert and animated, intelligent, independence-loving and thoughtful. Externally their love for independence, free and forward thinking, large-heartedness and liberal outlook on national affairs had earned for them the coveted national honour of “what Bengal thinks to day, India thinks tomorrow”. But unfortunately this intellectual superiority had become an eyesore and a cause of jealousy.

ries and soldiers since the dawn of History—constitute a separate race with a distinct culture, language, literature, history, tradition and geographical feature and climate. Ethnologically, not only the blood of the Sakas or Scythians, the hordes of pastoral nomads of the Central Asia who entered into India and originally settled down in the plains of the Punjab permanently but also the blood of the hordes who came to plunder or conquer or settle in India in later days are running in the vein of the Punjabis. Both geography and cosmopolitan biological heredity, economic benefits of the rivers, their hereditary, martial profession and the tartaric effects of the medieval, feudal land tenure system have conditioned the character and nature of the race of this particular region of Pakistan to be one of seclusion, domination and over domineering, tinged with superciliousness and racial pride and superiority—a dangerous trait in a race, itself sufficient to shatter a multi-racial nation or state.

174. The Bengalis of East Pakistan are not only geographically separated from West Pakistan by 1000 mile-long alien territory but they also constitute a different race with distinct and separate national characteristics such as culture, language, literature, history, tradition, food, dress, manners, habits, customs, calendars, geographical features and climate and economic diversities. Ethnologically some of them belong to the Saracenic class and Moghuls and Pathans who came to preach and permanently settled down and the majority belong to the local converts who belonged to the Mongolian race. They possess a separate history and tradition and national heritage, distinct from that of the other races of Pakistan. They nurse a strong sense of nationalism from their political past tradition and history which date back to the 12th century independent Sultanate of Muslim Bengal. They maintained

alism based on universal brotherhood of Islam which knows no geographical boundaries. At no time of Islam's 13 hundred years history, full of ups and downs, their racial pride and prejudices had overshadowed their sense of and love for the global interest of the Islamic world. Nothing shall happen in the Islamic World which shall not cause spontaneous echo and thrill in the hearts of the Bengalees. Such is the international characteristic of the incipient racial nationalism of the Bengalees. This ethical basis of their nationalism did spur them to launch the Khelafat Movement in Indo-Pak Sub-Continent and rush volunteers and money to Turkey against the British imperialists to restore Khelafat there even long after the Turkish people themselves had banished the Khelafat system from their own country and while in their own country in North Bengal thousands of people would have died in unprecedented flood for want of food, medicine and volunteers. They will take special pride in defending the city of Lahore quite oblivious of the fact that their own province is left exposed to the foreign attack.

178. From the above objective analysis it is apparent that there are as many as five races in Pakistan, each having distinct and separate national characteristic. In other words Pakistanis is not a mono-nation state. It is a multi-nation state or multi-racial nation-state. It is questioned that if Pakistanis are not an ideological nation, why then the Mulims of minority provinces of British India fought for Pakistan and 5-million people lost lives, knowing it fully that their provinces would never be included in Pakistan. Pakistan's one nationhood would seem to have foundered on the racial and geographical consideration.

Even the same ideology of Islamic faith and common language, history and heritage, and Muslim culture and

to other races of Indo—Pakistan Sub-continent which had unfortunately reacted against her interest in her subsequent political destiny. Their strong sense of right and justice was the direct outcome of the agelong struggle against the socio-economic and political domination of the combined Anglo-Hindu forces since the fall of their independence in 1757. Nature and climate of East Pakistan had made them freedom-loving and even many Royal Princes of the Delhi Sultanate had come to Bengal in the past as Governors under the Delhi emperor and permanently settled here, declared their independence and were assimilated with the local people. Such was the influence of the geography and climate of the province. Their love for independence was so high and aggressive that they could never reconcile themselves to the British rule and never shouldered the British guns to deprive other nations of their freedom.

Their first revolt against the British in the first Burmese war waged for subduing the Burmese cast them under the perpetual suspicion of the British who took every care to keep them out of the army. They had for hundreds of years with men and money in the same way as the freedom loving sturdy Pathans of the Frontier Regions did against the British.

176. Their sense of sentimental and sensitive self and ego is so strong that no two-Bengalees will agree on any fundamental issue, let alone the two political leaders, which is the main cause of the miseries and plight of the Muslim Bengal. With characteristically traditional habits they will not pursue a noble cause with even a fraction of zeal, tenacity, persistency and unity with which they will try to criticise and find fault in minor matters.

177. Muslim nationalism of Bengal has two facets—one territorially racial nationalism and the other nation-

history common political struggles for freedom against common foreign rulers, common danger of external aggression, common sufferings, joys of victory and sorrows of defeat, common past history of glory or ignomy, all these generate and foster a strong feeling of oneness among the different races and groups of people with different nationalities. And these factors are no less strong a bond than the conventional ethnological, cultural, linguistic, and geographical contiguity which is supposed to mould a group of people or race into a nation. The most important and overriding factor is the common feeling of the multi-racial people urging to form a nation and to live under a politically organised state. But this feeling is neither the esoteric sensation of a religious group of people nor their philosophical concept or contemplation. It is a matter of objective reality and its existence is felt every moment in every sphere of national life. It emanates from the sense, of all equally sharing the pains and pleasures of the newly built nation in the members of the nation. So long as multi races fight together for freedom against a common enemy, they face no trouble and it is easy to build one nationhood out of many races. But the real teething trouble inherent in the multi-racial nation begins after the achievement of independence. When more than one race with distinct and separate nationalities organise themselves politically in a newly born state, innumerable visible or invisible, and supposed or real difficulties arise with regards to the proper and equitable distribution of political, economic and administrative powers and benefits of the state. At this stage the pattern of Government is the major positive hindrance in the way of the merger of various races into one nation and it puts the sagacity, foresightedness, liberal

traditions could not overcome the geographic and racial considerations in the Middle East Muslim countries where more than one Muslim independent and separate states have sprung up consciously on racial and geographical consideration. In Pakistan the counter argument is put forward against the ideological nature of one nationhood of Pakistan that if Pakistanis are not a nation, why the four provinces inhabited by four distinct races of West Pakistan have been merged into one province and East Pakistanis have been deprived of proportional representation according to their numerical strength in the national parliament and in the central cabinet? Surely this is not the proper way of integrating multi-races into one nation—rather this is the first step for disintegration of the multiracial nation of Pakistan. The inherent contradiction, both in thought and in action of the Pakistani nation builders before and after partition in moulding and conducting the national basic policies and affairs of Pakistan have brought these impassable and inescapable anomalies and diverse controversies in the national life of Pakistan. They, having seized the power and overjealous of furthering the interests of a particular group of people of a particular zone at the cost of the other, have deliberately shut their eyes to the lessons and experiences of other nations who were confronted with the similar situations and had successfully tided over the difficulties inherent in the merger of multi-races into a nation or in building a multi-racial nation-state by process of compromises and concessions and by mutual adjustment of the political constitutional, administrative and economic interests of different races.

179. History of the nation building of other nations out of multi-racial nationalities furnishes us with lessons and instances that bonds of identical religious faith,

the administrative and political set-ups that no preponderance has been given to any race upon the others. All languages of the federating races have been recognised as state languages. Autonomy in administrative and economic matters and politics has been granted to the federating units to the utmost so that the races themselves manage their own administrative and economic matters and in the federal government. Political and economic powers of the state are equally and, where necessary, equitably shared by the federating races. There is no scope for the cropping up of any faction or misunderstanding among the various races as regards the distribution of political, administrative services and economic benefits of the state.

181. When multi-races or even a single racial nation inhabits a vast territory, special constitutional safeguards are guaranteed under the overall supervisions and control of the independent judiciary to protect the special geographical, political and economic interests and rights of the various regions and races. Even in U.S.A. though various races migrated from Europe to America, centuries of living together and suffering have merged them into one nation. But nevertheless they are so conscious of their zonal and racial political rights and economic interests that in states they will prefer to live under their own political and economic systems and laws and any interference by the Federal Government in their internal affairs will be declared ultravires of the constitution by the Federal Court. The feeling of the autonomous status of the federating states was so strong that they had named their federal State as the 'United States of America' and not the 'United State of America'. In the union of Soviet Socialist Republic of Russia also the federating republics have autonomy to manage their own affairs—be it economic or administrative. Even they have separate

outlook, and large-heartedness, patriotism and sufferance of national leaders of the various races to acid tests. The overriding factor for one nationhood—the common feeling of 'oneness' of the multi-races is the most sensitive thing which stumbles on the imbalances of socio-politico-economic forces of the state and consequently the feeling of equally sharing the state powers and benefits. In the merging races is affected with the only possible fatal consequence of the breaking up of the multi-racial-national state into multi-racial states. To counteract this inevitable possibility, when multi-nations or races are politically organised in a state, a special type of constitution even departing from the conventional norms and forms, is required to be framed with checks and balance on the basis of political consideration of compromise and concession, the spirit of give and-take in order to adjust the conflicting and sometime in equitable interests of the races or the nations inhabiting the state. The most dangerous elements standing in the way of the unification of the various races into a nation and the main cause of racial animosities and riots are the feeling of political, administrative and cultural predominance and economic exploitation by one race of the other in a multi-racial state. The imposition of language and culture of one race upon the other is another disintegrating factor. This factor is so sensitive to nationalism that the Saracenic Arabic language which was made the court language of the conquered Iran, could not assimilate the Iranian culture and it provided a strong lever in declaring independence against the Arabs and the Iranian language was again declared the state language of independent Iran.

180. In Switzerland where multi-races have to form a multi-racial national state, its constitution has been framed in such a way with necessary adjustments in

political situations and strained race-relation have been further aggravated by the constitutional set-ups of 1962. There can not be any common feeling of oneness for one nationhood among the various races of Pakistan, if one race feels that not only the political and administrative services and economic benefits and defence services of the multi-racial national state of the centre are dominated and monopolised by a particular race or races but the political, administrative and economic interests and resources with her own geographical boundaries also are exploited and monopolised by the other federating races. East Pakistanis are nursing this natural feeling of injury that like a subject nation she is being exploited and dominated by the other races of West Pakistan. Having majority of population of Pakistan, the East Pakistanis feel that they have no say in schemes and formulation of policies for Pakistan. In all the central services, be it civil or military, the Punjabis are bossing and dominating with imperious manner and gait. The Bengalees do not even constitute 10% in the central services. Important departments like Defence, Foreign and Finance are the monopolies of the West Pakistanis.

From the National Assembly proceedings of Dec. 1st 1966, we get the following glimpses on the disparity ratio between the West and East Pakistan: President's Secretariate—81:19, Defence—91:9, Industry 74.3 : 25.7, Home Ministry—77.5 : 22.5, Education—72.1 : 27.3, Information—79.9 : 20.1, Health—81 : 19, Agriculture—79 : 21, Law—65 : 35. In P.L.A out of 10,956 East Pakistanis are 2359. Out of 10 ambassadors appointed after June 1965 only 2 East Pakistanis. The essential condition of one nationhood is that patriotism must be spontaneous and uniform and that all the races must feel that it is their own country and that they have the equal

currencies. Thereby neither the central government of the U.S.A. nor of the U.S.S.R. has been made weak. The true strength of the multi-racial state government depends upon the feeling of oneness of the federating people or races and not on the concentration of state powers in one place of administration.

182. Apart from consciousness of racial nationalisms, the Geophysical position of Pakistan has played a vital role in disturbing the proper balance and good relation among various races. But this natural hindrance has been more accentuated by the deliberate political, economic and administrative policies of the nation-builders of the state from the very beginning of the state. East Pakistan is not only cut off from the people of West Pakistan but its numerical majority has been a natural cause of an apprehension of political dominance in the minds of the West Pakistani people. In extreme racial consciousness and nationalism the West Pakistan could have demanded to secede from Pakistan to avoid perpetual political domination under the East Pakistani majority rule. To ward off this possibility a formula of parity in representation in the central assembly was devised, which was made the basis of the 1956 constitution. East Pakistan had to accept this voluntary reduction of her numerical majority by 6% as a gesture to build one nationhood in Pakistan. But her special geographical position and economic backwardness have not been given due consideration. She has been deprived of her numerical majority but she has not still been given autonomy to manage her administrative and economic policies and affairs. Consequently she feels like a subjugated race under the domination of the racial pride of the Punjabis who happened to control all the important departments of the Central Government from the beginning of the state. Administrative and

Pakistan had accepted 50 : 50 parity of representation in the national Assembly, the 50% seat in the central Assembly could have been distributed among the four provinces of West Pakistan on the ratio of their numerical strength without merging the provinces into one administrative unit. In a multi-racial state the predominating factor in the feeling of oneness among the various races is not that of good administration, rapid economic growth and justice administered under the central agencies but that of a common urge of shared purposes that all the races must have equal right and share in the administration good or bad and dispensation of Justice and economic developments.

184. In East Pakistan Economic under development, limitless poverty of the masses and chronic unemployment among the disgruntled young intelligentsia and lack of political, administrative, economic and military opportunities in the central Government are standing as a hindrance in the way of feeling oneness as a nation with the West Pakistan. Various federating races can not produce the strong feeling of oneness for a nation with diverse and conflicting social, economic and legal institutions. If Pakistan is to be made a nation of various races, there must be one and uniform legal, political, economic and social system uniting the races into one nation. Unfortunately the people of East Pakistan cannot mix with or know the mass people of the West Pakistan due to geographical distance. They get very poor impression of them from the behaviour and conduct of the few West Pakistanis, who are found in the various administrative departments of the province or the centre. They suffer from a superiority complex characteristic of a martial race of rulers in as much as the East Pakistanis are suffering from a sense of inferiority complex of a subject race. The real cementing bond

share and rights to defend their own country. No self-respectful race, who have equal partnership in the multi-racial state like Pakistan, can accept the inferior and ignominious position that her territorial boundaries will be defended by armed force of the other races, while it will remain chewing 'pans'.

183. In politics and administration too, the federating races must feel the urge of equally sharing the political and administrative posts of the central government and in the administrative sphere and economic resources of the federating racial units no other races should poke their nose or have any say. Disparities in administrative services and in the economic developments between different racial zones within one wing or between the two wings of Pakistan are hindering the unification of the various races into one nation. After the merger of the four provinces of West Pakistan, the minority provinces like Sind, Baluchistan and N.W.F.P. are murmuring against the political, administrative and economic dominance of the numerically majority race of the Punjab and are agitating for disintegration of one unit which had very well stood as a bar in the good understanding and unification of the various races of West Pakistan. The so-called integration of the various races had begun in the reverse way. The short-sighted politicians and bureaucrats of West Pakistan, who took this disastrous step against the will of the minority races to deprive East Pakistan of her numerical majority, had taken little lesson from history and had cut at the very root of feeling oneness for one nationhood among the various races. Nationhood is something spiritual and a spontaneous feeling of oneness, and not an object of forceful imposition extraneously from above on the unwilling race. It grows, it can not be planted or grafted. When East

but the natural off-spring of the regimentation of social and political powers and functionaries of the state under autocracy. But lots of misunderstanding and misrepresentation of facts are being fanned and fostered by both the government and the people. People of one wing will be asked in a patronising tone to feel oneness as a nation, but they will have no right to know the real socio-politico-economic position of the people of the other wing. By this policy of close-door and division one can perpetuate his hegemony for some time more, but the incalculable damage that is being done to the cause of integration of the various races of Pakistan by this misrepresentation and distortion of real facts, is hardly to be healed up in future.

186. The real physical bridge among the various races in a multi-racial state like Pakistan is the national political leaders and national democratic political parties. National political parties formed with members of all the races and based on socio-economic policies and programmes, act as buffer for absorbing shocks and provide tolerance and better understanding, and thereby amity is grown and fostered among the races by mutual and free exchange of ideas and views inside the party itself. There should be no political party on the basis of any zone or with any party-programmes vouchsafing the interests of any particular zone or race. The racial leaders must at once be imbued with the spirit of national interest, and must be above racial bias, pride and prejudices. Whether a nation should be built out of multi-races depends upon the leaders of the races concerned—how far they can rise above the parochial and racial interest. Racial pride and prejudices and special advantages must be made subservient to the overall interest of the nation. National leaders should conduct race relations, not

among the various races is the levelling force of democracy without which it is wellnigh impossible to unite the various races of Pakistan into a compact nation. Unification and integration are necessary and possible only on the level of the people and not in the ranks of the upper classes who have political and economic interests in the exploitation of one race by the other. Exploitation of the economic resources of the nation or of any particular zone must be condemned and censored by the entire race to which the exploiters belong as they are the main root of racial animosities and as the benefits of exploitation go to the pockets of the few exploiters and not to the entire people of the race. Patriotism is a very sensitive term and it is apt to injure the vanity and sentiment of any race. No particular race or nation should think that patriotism is its monopoly alone to the exclusion of the other race or races. Certain picked-up persons and political perversus in West Pakistan seem to have of late made it a habit of challenging or charging with motive the patriotism of East Pakistanis. It is a deterrent to the cementing of various races of Pakistan.

It is better to ration patriotism on the ratio of sacrifices made for the achievement of Pakistan.

185, Responsible, unfettered and national press a sine quo non for the unification of various races into a nation. They help let off the steam of various misunderstandings and genuine grievances of one against the other by free, frank and impartial discussion and by providing consensus of opinion. Unfortunately, regimentation of the press and Government sponsored press trusts and various press restrictive laws have stood in the way of free and impartial discussion of the national issues and the free circulation of the real news and views between the two wings of Pakistan. This is

genous compact nation. But clear-cut conception and interpretation of islamic ideology especially its socio-economic aspects have become all the more important at the moment, as both the absence and purposeful talk of Islamic ideology had been used more as a cloak in the past and are being used at present in Pakistan for the pursuit of personal or class interest more than for its implementation in the national life of Pakistan.

always on the basis of the ratio of number of any particular race but on the political consideration of equality and equity in the national affairs in order to create and nurse a feeling of equality and shared purposes among the federating races, so that no race, however small and weak should get an opportunity of feeling any sense of injury being caused by dominance of any other race. To achieve this noble cause racial leaders must put off the racial mantle and put on that of the nation and must cultivate the spirit of large-heartedness by accommodation and even-handed justice and must forget the place of his birth. Under no circumstances he will compromise the national interest with that of the race or zone in the pursuit of his personal gain or even that of the race or zone.

ABIDING IDEOLOGICAL PHILOSOPHY TO BIND THE PAKISTANI RACES INTO ONE NATION.

187. Quid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah galvanised and united the distracted and self-forgotten muslim masses of the British India with the new spirit of Islam and infused them with energy to achieve a homeland for themselves, to guide and develop their lives according to the genius of Islamic ideology, and the present ruler has transformed that life-force again into an inert mass of abstract conception. Islamic ideology in Pakistan has given way to four kinds of ideologies—two external and the other two internal. External ideologies are to live on external economic aids and loans and on borrowed political philosophy. Internally they are to gear up one's personal political power and to help grow a class of economic at the cost of the vast needy multitude, who had sacrificed everything for Pakistan. Lack of Islamic ideology which is the only cementing bond among the various races of Pakistan is standing as a bar to the unification of the heterogeneous elements into a homo-

ern themselves. The present system of indirect election through so-called basic democrats cum electoral college is a misnomer and it can not reflect people's will. But the mischief or the obvious illegal benefit for which this system was invented can be eliminated for ever, if the following methods and systems of election are adopted. After election change of parties inside the National and Provincial Assemblies has been made a political offence with the penalty of losing seat under sec. (3) of the Political Parties Act, 1962. The same principle and law should also apply in the case of electoral college members who only exercise under the law the delegated power and 'will' of their electorates—the people. So if constitutionally it is provided that all the political parties must contest electoral college election under the basic democracy system on the basis of election manifestoes for both the Central and Provincial Assemblies and nominate candidates to be elected by the people as electoral college members on the basis of these programmes, the only single election of the electoral college will decide the fate of the Presidential, National and Provincial elections and no subsequent separate election for these bodies will be necessary. This will save the much-published wastage of public money for holding general election on adult franchise. This will also eliminate the scope of election manipulations or the purchase of B.D. members by money or subduing them by threat, and people's true will and aspirations will be expressed through it. Let me elucidate the system by illustrations. Pakistan has been divided into 80,000 constituencies for Presidential election, 150 constituencies for National Assembly Election and 150 constituencies for each Provincial Election. Let us suppose that there are 3 political parties-A, B and C. All the parties shall nominate candidates for the electoral college election on the basis of their published election-manifestoes for

CHAPTER VI SUGGESTIONS

188. In the foregoing chapters I have discussed in minutest details the unprecedented constitutional, political and administrative crisis through which Pakistan is generally passing at present, and the socio-economic maladies and frustration from which the East Pakistan in particular is suffering. The entire intellectual life of the nation is in the doldrums and its political life in holocaust. Neither any easy way out is in sight nor any serious attempt is being made to find out one, I would suggest the following fundamental principles to be pondered over and to be incorporated in the future constitution of Pakistan, in order to make democracy a success and to build a unified and strong one-nation-state of Pakistan on the basis of justice and equal rights of sharing economic and political powers of the Central Government, with the permanent elimination of the causes of misunderstandings and apprehensions about political and economic domination by one race or zone upon any other race or zone.

A. ADULT FRANCHISE,

189. The entire nation of Pakistan is simmering with discontent and frustration, as they have been deprived of political franchise with which they fought for and won Pakistan. As people alone are the sovereign authority in the state, it is their inherent birth right to form political Government by periodically-held election to Gov.

between the people and the government universal and adult franchise must be restored to the people of Pakistan.

B. POLITICAL SET-UP AND FORM OF GOVT.

190. (1) As Pakistan's nationality is multiracially constituted and her two wings are geographically separated at poles apart, with alien territory intervening, Pakistan in order to give equal share in the political and economic power and benefits of the Central Government and to minimise the present mounting misunderstanding and sense of political and economic domination of one race by the other, should have the political set-up and pattern of the government as envisaged in the constitution of 1956. Pakistan should have a federal type of government consisting of four separate provinces of West Pakistan and the province of East Pakistan. The form of government should be parliamentary and the cabinet system of Government. If the Prime Minister is selected from East Pakistan, the President must be selected from the West Pakistan alternately and after each term of office. The President will be a mere constitutional head of the state and will be bereft of any administrative functions and powers. The Prime Minister and his cabinet will separately and collectively be responsible to the legislature which shall have hundred percent control over the legislation, finance and administration of the state.

(2) Both the wings shall have equal representation in the Central Assembly.

(3) Portfolios of the central government should be equitably divided between the two wings of Pakistan.

(4) The language of the Constitution must be thoroughly recast and rewritten in plain language free from ambiguous terms and guess works and legal loopholes inherited from the colonial British, so that so long as a ministry in power, either in the centre or in the pro-

both the centre and the province. Now suppose, party-A wins 45,000 seats in the Presidential constituencies, and parties, A, B and C secure majority of electors in 60, 50 and 40 central constituencies, and in 55, 65 and 30 provincial constituencies respectively. Now according to the result of the electoral college election, party-A wins majority in the Presidential constituencies, and as such this party will have the constitutional right to select a person from among its party to take oath as President of Pakistan. Similarly, parties A, B and C will simply select from among their parties the M.N. As and M. P.A's to the ratio of 60: 50: 40 in the Central Assembly and to the ratio of 55: 65: 30 in the Provincial Assembly according to the numerical strength of seats captured in the central and the provincial constituencies. Subsequent election to the above 3 categories will be shifted from the open public political forum to the political parties closed-door rooms. The defect of this counter system is that the neutral and independent candidates will have no chance to contest. But this is the only democratic and scientific system to express the people's will and, at the same time, the most effective and full-proof system against the loop-holes and mischiefs inherent in the present system of indirect election. Electoral system of a country should not seek to prop up and perpetuate a political system in the interest of the person in power. The political system must be the universally acknowledged and practised system of franchise in order to make the political government subordinate to and dependent on the will of the people and to bring true real union and effective co-operation between the interests of the governed and the prerogatives of the government and to effect easy change-over of power to the next government after election without involving the risk of political upheaval. So to restore confidence and co-operation

(1). Election agencies for the centre and the provinces should be set up consisting of a Supreme Court judge for the central election and a High Court judge for each provincial election. They shall be made autonomous, independent and free from the control of the President or the Governor but under the overall supervision and free control of the "Constitutional Bench" of the Supreme Court, specially set up under the Constitution to decide upon Constitutional matters of Pakistan.

(2). Election to the centre and the provinces shall be held simultaneously according to the schedule time as provided in the Constitution. Holding of election, fixation or shifting of date within the schedule time shall be the constitutional jurisdiction of Election Agency, and the political government or the President shall have no say or legal right in the matter.

(3). As the President is also a part of the executive and of the political government and may very well belong to any political party, he along with the central and the provincial ministries shall resign at least 3 months before the scheduled date of general election and the Chief Justice as per Constitutional mandatory provision shall officiate as acting President for the transition period.

(4). It shall be clearly written in the Constitution that opposition parties are necessary part of the state with the legal right to form the alternative government in place of the present party in power if they can win majority votes in the periodically held general elections. And as such all the political parties shall have equal opportunities and access to the government agencies of mass medias such as press, publicity, radio and television for election propagandas.

vince, commands majority of the house, the President or the Governor shall have no constitutional right, whatsoever, to dismiss it. If the Assembly is not in session to help ascertain the claim or assumption of the President or the Governor, that any particular ministry does not enjoy majority, he must call the Assembly into session and then substantiate his assumption before taking any action.

Ninety nine percent of the political evils and constitutional crimes against democracy in Pakistan can be safely attributed without any fear of contradiction and perjury to the absence of such a clear-cut provision in the Constitution of Pakistan, and to the presence of the notoriously enabling clause which is a constitutional anathema and a challenge to the wisdom of any civilised democratic country of the world, and this clause runs as follows, right from the Constitution of 1935 down to the present Constitution of Pakistan, 'The Prime Minister shall hold office during the pleasure of the President,

(95). Any change of political party by member shall not only cost him his seat but it shall make him criminally liable, as he betrays the sacred trust and political responsibilities reposed in him by the people,' and no such must be debarred from seeking public offices for life. Unless these political gullibles and self-seekers are pruned out from the body-politics of Pakistan, democracy can never take root and flourish in Pakistan.

C. FAIR AND IMPARTIAL CONDUCT OF ELECTION

191. In order to ensure fair and impartial election both in the centre and the province the following provisions and safeguards should be made in the constitution :-

a provision within it that all the three Governmental functionaries—the executive, the legislature and the judiciary shall be separated with clear cut jurisdictions, rights and responsibilities. The sovereign National Assembly shall legislate within the bounds of the Constitution and the Executive shall make its execution.

The judiciary shall protect the Constitution itself and the fundamental rights of the citizens, including the permanent executives, from the illegal encroachment of other functionaries and shall see suo moto or on petition if the legislature is legislating within its Constitutional jurisdiction and the President is exercising his political and Constitutional powers according to the provisions of the organic laws. In order to enable the judiciary to exercise this sacrosanct duty, it must have independent existence, both in appointment, promotion, transfer and confirmation and tenure of service, and it must be independent of the executive in all respects. To discharge this onerous and sacred duty the judiciary must have the following functionaries and functions.

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT OR BENCH.

193. A permanent 'Constitutional Court' consisting of Chief Justice of Pakistan as chairman and two High Court Chief Justices of two provinces shall be set up to adjudicate issues on Constitutional matters. The 'Constitutional Court' shall see that—(1) Constitution of the country is allowed to function properly and that the state functionaries are not interfering with it, (2) Fundamental rights of the people are not transgressed by any of the three state organs, (3) Proper balance between the three organs of Government is not disturbed or one's rights and jurisdiction are not encroached upon by the other. (4) It shall control and supervise the Election Agencies entrusted with the duties of properly and fairly conducting election according to laws, (5) No ministry is illegally dismissed

(5) All executive and judicial officials doing election works shall be brought under the control of the Election Agencies during the election. Special penal provisions shall be made against the officials found taking sides or adopting foul means or violating election rules in order to help any candidate.

(6) No executive or judicial official shall be eligible for seeking election till 5 years has elapsed since his retirement or resignation.

(7). All restrictive laws and ordinances such as safety Acts, Defence of Pakistan Acts and Rules, Press Acts and Ordinances shall be held suspended during election.

(8) No person who has a slight economic or other interest either directly or indirectly in the state or in any bodies to which he seeks election, as a contractor or as a semi-functionary shall be eligible for seeking election to that body.

INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY AND SEPARATION OF POWERS.

192. As President is the constitutional head of the State and the head of the executive Government and as he belongs to a political party which may not be in power after election, there is more likelihood that he will misuse his constitutional rights and powers to ensure his continuance or to keep his own party in power either by postponing, deferring or by helping manipulation of election. In fact democracy and Constitutions in Pakistan have had more reverses in the hands of the person, the President, who had taken oath under the Constitution to protect it, than from other political functionaries. As such the President should never be given the right to say his last word on the constitutional matters, The Constitution of the country shall make

3. PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

195. The federating units, the provinces, shall have autonomous rights and powers in political, fiscal, economic and other matters and subjects, as are assigned to the provinces under the Constitution. The Provincial Governors shall be non-party men and appointed by the President. His duty shall be to see the proper functioning of the Provincial part of the Constitution. The provincial legislature shall have sovereign jurisdiction of legislation over the subjects assigned to it under the Constitution, and the minister shall be responsible to it. The cabinet headed by the Chief Minister shall be sovereign within the bounds of the Constitution and the Provincial administration shall be under its control for all purposes. The permanent executive shall have no direct approach to the Governor as at present. There shall be no difference between the hitherto-maintained political government consisting of the political persons, the ministers, and the legal government consisting of the permanent public servants, the departmental secretaries, under the chairmanship of the Provincial governor. This difference is a legal quibble and a constitutional anathema inherited from the British imperialists, which kept the civil servants at bay, separated and divided from the Public, and made them imperious in manners and bureaucratic in thought and action and had cut at the very root of democracy in the Afro-Asian colonial countries. The provincial administration shall be provincialised once for all free from the control of the Federal Government. There shall be no difference between central service and the artificial cadres and systems of examination should be abolished. It is an anomaly and administrative farce that the province shall pay the salary but will have no control over the C.S.S personnels. Experiences show that even

on any pretext against the provision of the Constitution, (6) It must enforce the compulsory retirement of the President and the ministers 3 months before the general election. (7) It will declare the seat of the member, who has changed party after election, vacant and disqualify him for life and order criminal action against him, (8) The chairman of the Constitutional Court shall officiate as acting President during the election, (9) It will enforce Constitutional obligation for removal of inter-racial and interzonal disparities in service and economic matters of the Central Government and (10) Any matter concerning suspension of any provision of the Constitution or any promulgation of emergency in peace or war shall be done on the prior and express approval of the Constitutional Court. (11) that no Government by ordinance or by legislation enact any ex post facto laws for a crime that was not a crime when it was committed.

E. DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS AND FUNCTIONS BETWEEN THE CENTRE AND THE PROVINCES

194. (1). The Federal Government of the Centre should have subjects like Foreign Affairs, (excluding trade agencies), Finance (currency and federal finance only) and Defence (unified command), Coordination of inter-wing Communication and the federating units—the provinces should have control over the rest of the subjects including the residuary powers.

(2). The State Bank shall be divided on federal basis—one autonomous branch for each wing of Pakistan with the power of issuing notes according to monetary demands of the province and following monetary and banking policies on the basis of two economies of Pakistan. The Federal Government through its ministry of Finance shall have overall and co-ordinating powers over the State Banks of the federating units.

- (2). The provinces must have their own autonomous planning Boards with the power of formulating and executing plannings and schemes, free from any control of the Centre.
- (3). The provinces must have their financial houses and banks with the right and power of contacting and contracting foreign financial aids agencies for developments etc.
- (4). The provinces must have autonomous trade agencies abroad for conducting and contracting trade and commercial relations and treaties with foreign countries for the provinces. Adverse economic financial, trade, commerce and industrial interests between the two wings have rightly given rise to this demand from East Pakistan, as they think that without proper representation in these agencies the East Pakistanis are not getting reasonable help and benefits from them.

REMOVAL OF ECONOMIC AND OTHER DISPARITIES

197. In order to remove the glaring and mounting disparities, 75% of the yearly expendable resources of the Central Government and the central development fund and the entire amount of foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan shall be spent in East Pakistan till the development of East Pakistan is brought at par with that of West Pakistan, and no West Pakistanis shall be taken in the fresh recruitment of the vacancies in the Central Government which shall be filled up by persons from East Pakistan till the parities in central services between the two wings are restored.

(2) A special parity officer under the over all control and supervision of the Constitutional Court shall be appointed from East Pakistan to enforce this provision of the Constitution.

from heinous and criminal offences they escape by going over to the central government on transfer and it takes more than half a dozen of years to bring them to book. This dual central control stands in the way of making them democratic-minded and feel as sons of the soil. The imperial king had long vanished but his legacies in services are till now permitted to exist with that hallow of glitter and glamour of the past tradition of the British Civil service, though in reality it now exists only in chaff without gain.

196. The federating provinces shall have sovereign fiscal rights to raise revenues within the boundaries of the province. This taxation, economic policies, export and import and foreign exchange shall be provincially managed and appropriated. The federal government shall have no right of raising and levying taxation in the federating units save and except from the incomes of the Central Govt. officials and agencies and from the centrally administered areas. The federal government shall be supplied with finances by the federating units according to the economic potentialities and resources of the units. On proper understanding and agreement on national level between the two wings, as an alternative solution, the federal Govt. may be given the limited power of taxation on limited items to meet the expenditures of the limited subjects only assigned to the Centre under the Constitution (minus development budget of the Centre for the province). Economic Commission under the new provision of the Constitution consisting of equal number of members of the two wings, may be set up to fix the amount of the federal budget year to year and to specify the items of central taxation which will not affect adversely the economic viability of East Pakistan and the economic growth, industrial production and employment, and will avoid duplication and over-riding and multiplicity of taxation.

can accept the position that it would be protected by the other part of the country in time of emergency while East Pakistan will pay major portion of the defence expenditures of Pakistan which for all practical purposes will be spent for the defence of West Pakistan alone. Besides, the present defence policy of Pakistan is eroding the sense of patriotism of the East Pakistanis as making them feel that they are a subject race and that they have no equal share in defending their country. It stands as a bar in the way of unification of various races of Pakistan into one homogeneous nation. The economic impact of this huge defence expenditure is enormous and cumulative in West Pakistan. It creates and stimulates economic activities, which in turn generate many chain actions. In West Pakistan at least on average each family has got one man in the defence services which protects the family from economic vicissitudes. East Pakistan must have self sustaining and viable defence potentialities both in manpower and materials and as such East Pakistan must have her own Army, Navy and Air forces and armament factories, manned and officered by East Pakistanis themselves. Defence set-up of Pakistan should be made on federal basis. As West Pakistan has land connection with Middle-East Muslim countries and R. C. D. countries, the need of defence for East Pakistan which is an isolated and enemy country locked zone is greater than that of West Pakistan. The federal Government must have united command of the Navy, army, and the Air force divided and stationed in the two wings for better coordination and efficiency. But East Pakistan must have such amount of forces of the 3 categories as will be sufficient to defend East Pakistan without caring and waiting for the help coming from West

(3) Economic resources of the Central Government shall be normally distributed between the two wings on the ratio of their population and not on the parity basis.

(4) A high-power Committee under the chairmanship of a High Court Judge shall be set up to evaluate the economic and financial disparities between the two wings accumulated during the last 20 years and to prepare a balance sheet of the central expenditures made in West Pakistan either through central administrative expenditure or through economic developments and also for the development of the capital of Karachi which has been annexed by the West Pakistan. The 56% share of East Pakistan from these central expenditures have to be repatriated to East Pakistan for her rapid economic development.

(5) In order to make up under development of East Pakistan and her capital shyness, no transfer of capital or profits or deposits of bank, industries and insurance companies shall be allowed from this wing to West Pakistan till East Pakistan is developed equally with West Pakistan. Where necessary, Investment Trust should underwrite at least 90% of the equity shares in order to make up shyness of capital in East Pakistan.

DEFENCE. 198. East Pakistan, as it is situated geographically with Indian territories in the north, west, east and with the open sea in the south, and as the Andaman Island is being developed as a strong naval base by India, East Pakistan's defence position should be especially considered. The myth that East Pakistanis are not good fighters and the pernicious theory that East Pakistan's defence lies in West Pakistan has been exploded and belied by the grim realities of the 1965 September war when East Pakistan was completely cut off from West Pakistan and it survived on the mercy of the enemy only. No self-respectful race or nation



Pakistan, which will be hoping against hope and reality in time of emergency.

A defence Council Consisting of equal number of representative from the two wings may be set up under the provision of the Constitution with over all powers and jurisdiction to enforce the above defence needs and schemes for the province of East Pakistan in particular and for Pakistan as a whole within a reasonable time limit.

—END—